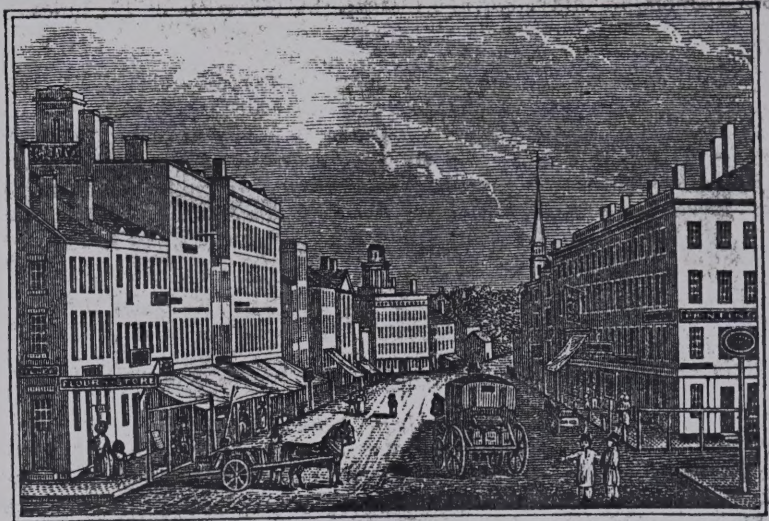
mediately upon their return, would be warm. Old Mr. Richards used to say, that the Indians would cross the river below Willow Point, rise the mountain, and bring back salt. Sometimes it would be warm. He inferred that there must be a salt spring near, but it never could be found. John D. Mersereau relates, that when a lad, his father and himself have endeavored to follow the Indians when they were known to have set out for salt; but they soon would appear to be apprehensive that they were watched, and would either remain where they were, or turn from their course. Never more than *two* would set out upon the expedition. They used the utmost precaution to prevent the whites from ever discovering the secret spot. They had other places to which they resorted for salt, one or more in the neighborhood of Oquago. Why these sources of salt have never been found by the whites, is a mystery.

Vestal was taken from Union in 1823, being divided from that town by the Susquehannah. It is a lumbering town, being but a small part of it cultivated. Major David Barney was one of the first settlers. He came down the river from Cooperstown with a large family of children in a canoe. Vestal is 8 miles S. W. from Binghamton. Pop. 1,250. There are two post-offices, Vestal, S. Vestal.

CAYUGA COUNTY.

Cayuga county was formed from Onondaga in 1799; but other counties have since been taken from it. Greatest length N. and S. 55, greatest breadth E. and W. 23 miles. From Albany, W., 156 miles, from New York, 301. Upon the S. the surface rises into ridges, along the Cayuga lake, the Owasco lake and inlet, and the Skaneateles lake. The disposition of the waters shows an irregular surface. The Poplar ridge, E. of the Cayuga lake, rises in some places to 600 feet above, but has a gentle slope towards the lake, displaying finely cultivated farms. The eastern declivity of this and other hills are more abrupt. On the N. of Auburn, the country is comparatively level, yet has a rolling appearance from the many large gravel hills scattered over the plain, assuming in many places the semblance of stupendous mounds formed by art. This gravel has much limestone, and produces excellent wheat. Few portions of the state possess more fertile lands, or can boast of higher cultivation. In all the fruits of the climate, this county is prolific. About two thirds of the land is under improvement. The southern portion is most thickly settled. The Cayuga lake, which forms a large part of the western boundary, is a beautiful sheet of water, 36 miles long, and from 1 to 4 broad. The county is divided into 22 towns. Pop. 50,364.

Auburn was taken from Aurelius in 1823. The town, 3 miles by 2, comprehending 6 lots of the old military tract, is included within the chartered limits of the village. The compact part of the village lies 2½ miles from Lake Owasco, on the outlet of that name. It is 156 miles from Albany, 314 from New York, 7 from Weedsport on the Erie canal, and 339 from Washington. Pop. 5,626. There are 2 Presbyterian churches, 1 Episcopal, 1 Baptist, 1 Universalist, and 1 Catholic; a state prison, courthouse, theological seminary, an academy, 2 banks, 4 printing-offices, and a number of splendid hotels. Auburn is one of the most thriving and beautiful villages in the state. Its principal streets are adorned with lofty buildings of brick and limestone.



Eastern part of Genesee-street, Auburn.

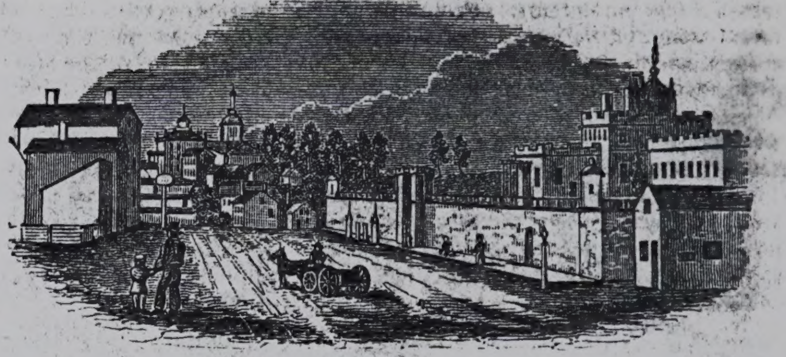
Auburn was first settled in 1793, by Col. John L. Hardenbergh, and was for many years called "*Hardenbergh's Corners.*" It became a post village in 1800, and in 1805 the county town; and received its present name from Dr. Crosset. At this time, the village consisted of but a few log dwellings, a store or two, a grist-mill, &c., all situated near the bank of the creek, not far from the spot occupied by the establishment of Messrs. Leonard & Warden.

In 1807, the building of the courthouse was commenced, and the county courts removed to this place from Aurora. In 1811, the village is supposed to have contained about 300 inhabitants; the courthouse was the only public building; even this was in an unfinished state. The construction of an academy, a three-story brick building, and a neat little Episcopal church were commenced, and a Presbyterian society formed during this year.

In 1815, Auburn was incorporated a village, at which time it contained 1,000 inhabitants. From this period, its improvement became more rapid and uniform; walks were now put down on the principal streets, which before were muddy and uneven. In 1816, the state prison was founded in this place; the first Presbyterian church in North-street was commenced, and the Bank of Auburn, capital $200,000, was chartered. In April, 1817, the village contained 1,506 inhabitants, 148 dwellings, 20 stores, and 40 mechanic shops.

A railroad connects Auburn with Syracuse. This road is 26 miles long, and was constructed at an expense of $460,000. A railroad is now constructing between this place and Rochester, which passes some distance S. of the Erie canal, through the flourishing villages of Canandaigua and Geneva, a distance by this route of 77½ miles.

The following is a representation of the state prison as viewed from the N.: the cupola of the courthouse is seen in the dist[illegible] Th



State Prison at Auburn.

erection of this prison commenced in 1816. "It occupies a plot of ground forming a square 500 feet each way, enclosed with a boundary wall 2,000 feet in extent, 30 feet high, and 4 feet thick at the base. A small river or creek runs along the S. side of the boundary, and sufficient power from the stream is obtained, by means of a water-wheel and shaft through the wall, to work the machinery within the prison. The prison buildings stand back about 80 feet from the road, and form three sides of a square; the front part being about 280 feet long; each of the return wings is 240 feet long and 45 in depth." The cost of erecting the prison was more than $500,000. The usual number of prisoners of late years has been between 6 and 700. The earnings of the prison during the year ending Sept. 1839, was $60,161.46; the expenditures during the same period, $51,671.21. Religious instruction is regularly given by the chaplain. Sunday schools are instituted in the prisons, in which the students in the theological seminary and other pious persons assist; the younger portion of the convicts, if illiterate, are taught to read, write, and cast accounts.

"The building contained originally 550 cells. More, we believe, have lately been added. They are principally distributed into four tiers or stories, and constructed on each side of the block or wing. The cells are each 7 feet long, 7 feet high, and 3½ wide. They are sufficiently lighted, well warmed, and ventilated. The area between the cells and the parallel walls, 10 feet wide, is open from the ground to the roof; and of this interval, 3 feet adjoining the cells are occupied by the galleries. This space in front of the cells forms a complete sounding-gallery, so that the watchman in the open area on the ground can hear even a whisper, from a distant cell in the upper story.

"Such are the provisions and precautions for the separate confinement of the prisoners *at night*. In the daytime, they are compelled to labor together, in an orderly and penitential manner. Soon after daylight, on a signal given by the prison bell, the turnkey unlocks the doors of the cells, when the convicts, each with his night tub, water can, and mush kid, march out; and having disposed of these articles according to the order of the prison, proceed to the workshops, where they commence the labor of the day. At a fixed hour another bell is rung, when they form again in line, and march in silence, with closed files, to the mess-room, where they breakfast at narrow tables, so arranged that they are unable to exchange even looks or signs. After an interval of 20 to 30 minutes, they return in the same manner to the workshops. At 12 o'clock, they dine under the same care to prevent intercourse. On the approach of night, they wash their faces and hands, and at the ringing of the bell, form a line according to the number of their cells, march out of the shops to their tubs, and at the word of command take them up, step forward and empty into the drain the water which had been placed in them in the morning to purify them. They then proceed, with closed files, the tubs hanging on their arms, to the wash-room, adjoining the kitchen, where their mush and molasses in a kid, and water in a can for drinking, have been placed together, in rows, by the cooks; and, without breaking their step, they stoop and take up the can and kid, march to their respective galleries, enter their cells as they arrive at them, and pull the doors partly shut. Each gallery is occupied by one company, which is marched and locked up by one turnkey, with two keys, differing from each other, and from all the rest. The convicts then eat supper in their respective cells. At an early hour they are required, by the ringing of a bell, to take off their clothes and go to bed, upon their canvass hammocks; when well, they are not permitted to lie down before the bell rings, nor to get up again, but from necessity, until the ringing of the morning bell. During the night, turnkeys are constantly moving round the galleries, wearing woollen socks on their feet, and walking so noiselessly that the convicts are not able to discover their presence or absence; and thus the whole wing, containing several hundred convicts, is preserved in perfect stillness and order. It is obvious that no communication can take place between the convicts at night, without the connivance or negligence of the turnkeys, which is guarded against by the visits of the keeper and his deputies at different hours."—*Gordon's Gaz.*

The following inscriptions are copied from monuments in the graveyard N. of the village.

"Professori Hist. Eccles Politiaeque nostro Reverendo Matthaeo La Rue Perrine D. D. quindecim annos a principio in Seminario Auburnensi theologico qui eruditus dilectus modestus impietate erga deum atque homines cunctos imagine Dei creatos sincerus vixit nato maii V MDCCLXXVII moriturus exitum prospexit tranquillus patiens benignus spe in Christo solo radiatus christum esse verum deum et redemptorem suum gloriosissimum gaudens confessus et precatus triumphavit suis benedixit gloriae ascendit Feb. XII MDCCCXXXVI Hunc lapidem amici nonnulli orbati posuere."

[To the memory of Rev. Matthew La Rue Perrine, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Polity, for fifteen years, in the Theological Seminary at Auburn. He was learned, amiable, and modest, and lived in sincere piety towards God and good will towards all men created in the image of God. He was born May 5, 1777. In the near prospect of death he was tranquil and patient, illumined by hope in Christ alone, whom he joyfully confessed to be the true God and his most glorious Redeemer. Having prayed, he triumphed over death, blessed his friends, and ascended to glory, Feb. 12, 1836.—Some of his bereaved friends have erected this monument to his memory.]

"1 Cor. 15; 57. 'But thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ,' *Rev. William Lewis, Jr.*, son of Wm. and Mary Lewis of this vicinity. After his course of preparatory studies in Williams College and Auburn Theo. Seminary, and successfully devoting himself to the cause of Education, Temperance and Piety in Canada, New York, Indiana, and Ohio, he went home to God, 4 April, 1838, aged 36 years. From the bible class, his interest in religion began. His faith and character were formed on the Bible; and he went down the dark valley saying 'all is light.'"

Aurelius, organized in 1789; bounds since altered; from Albany 159 miles. Pop. 2,644. Cayuga, 8 miles W. from Auburn, has about 30 dwellings. Aurelius and Fosterdale are small villages. Clarksville, 1 mile W. from Auburn, has about 50 dwellings.

The above view of Cayuga Bridge, which crosses the Cayuga lake on the great western turnpike, was taken on the western bank, and shows on the opposite side of the lake a portion of the little village of Cayuga. The large building on the right is the well-known tavern of Mr. Titus, having superior accommodations. This bridge, so famous in political estimates, was commenced in May, 1799, and finished in September, 1800. It was built by the Manhattan Company of New York, and cost $150,000. Its length is one mile. "This bridge is the longest in America, perhaps in the world, and yet five years ago," says a traveller in 1800, "the Indians possessed the shores of the lake, imbosomed in almost impenetrable woods." The first bridge was built on mud sills—the second on piles—the third and last was erected in 1833, and cost about $15,000.

Brutus, taken from Aurelius in 1802. Pop. 2,045. Weedsport, incorporated in 1831, on the canal 7 miles N. of Auburn, 26 from Syracuse, 87 W. of Utica, and 197 by canal from Albany, is a flourishing village, with about 120 dwellings. Centreville is a small village on the canal.

Cato, taken from Aurelius in 1802; bounds since altered; from Albany 155, from Auburn, N. E., 13 miles. Cato Corners and Cato are small villages. Pop. 2,380.

Conquest, taken from Cato in 1821; from Albany 162 miles. Pop. 1,911. The post-office is 19 miles N. N. W. of Auburn.

Fleming, taken from Aurelius in 1823; from Albany 160 miles. Pop. 1,330. Fleming, 5 miles S. of Auburn, has about 20 dwellings.

Genoa, organized by the General Sessions of Ontario county, in 1789, by the name of Milton; name and bounds since altered; from Albany 185, from Auburn centrally distant, S., 20 miles. Pop. 2,591. Genoa, formerly called the "Indian Fields," has about 40 dwellings. Northville has about 20 dwellings. Kings Ferry, Five Corners, and East Genoa are post-offices.

Ira, taken from Cato in 1821; from Albany 189 miles. Pop. 2,282. Ira, 24 miles N. of Auburn, has about 25 dwellings.

Ledyard, taken from Scipio in 1823. Aurora, post village 18 miles S. W. from Auburn, is beautifully situated upon the lake in a fertile country, and has several churches, the Cayuga Academy, and about 125 dwellings. Levana, also upon the lake, 14 miles from Auburn, is a small village. Pop. 2,500.

Locke, taken from Milton, original name of Genoa, in 1802; from Albany 166, from Auburn centrally distant, S. E., 21 miles. Milan, at which is the post-office of the town, has about 50 dwellings. Pop. 1,800.

Mentz, originally named Jefferson, and taken from Aurelius in 1808; from Albany 161 miles. Pop. 4,215. Port Byron, on the canal, 3 miles W. from Weedsport, and 8 from Auburn, has about 150 dwellings. Throopsville is a small manufacturing village on the Owasco outlet, 3 miles N. W. from Auburn. Montezuma Village is situated at the junction of the Seneca, Cayuga, and Erie canals. It contains an Episcopal and a Baptist church, a collector's office, and about 75 dwellings: distant, 10 miles from Auburn, 21 from Geneva, 64 from Rochester, 7 from Cayuga, 35 from Syracuse, and 205 from Albany. In 1839, the state was successful in sinking a shaft about 300 feet, from which issues a large quantity of the best salt water in the state. The salt made from it is remarkably free from impurities, and the facilities for its manufacture are great, the ground being good and fire-wood plenty. No lime is used in the manufacture of salt from these springs. The Montezuma marshes commence about a mile westward of the village: they are gradually drying away, and it is believed that the healthfulness of this town is now equal to any in the vicinity.

"This marshy tract," says a well known writer, "is the *paradise of musquetoes*," which tiny and troublesome insect are here notorious for their numbers, size, and "penetrating proboscis." The following is said to be the tradition of the Onondagas respecting the origin of this "musical insect:"

> "There were, in times of old—many hundred moons ago—two huge feathered monsters permitted by the Manitou to descend from the sky and light upon the banks of the Seneca river, near the present route of the canal, at Montezuma. Their form was exactly that of a musquetoe, and they were so large that they darkened the sun like a cloud, as they flew between the earth and it. Standing the one upon one side of the river, and the other opposite on the other bank, they guarded the river, and stretching their long necks into the canoes of the Indians as they attempted to paddle along the stream, gobbled them up as the stork king in the fable did the frogs. The destruction of life was great, for the embargo was so strictly enforced that not an Indian could pass without being devoured in the attempt. It was long before the monsters could be exterminated, and then only by the combined efforts of all the warriors of the Cayuga and Onondaga nations of Indians. The battle was terrible, but the warriors finally triumphed, and the mammoth musquetoes were slain. But, sad to relate, as their carcases decomposed in the sun, every particle became vivified, and flew off daily in myriads of clouds of musquetoes! And they have filled the country ever since."

Moravia, taken from Sempronius in 1833; from Albany 157, from Auburn centrally distant, S. E., 20 miles. Settlements were commenced here in 1794. A branch of the Owasco inlet here falls perpendicularly 70 feet. Pop. 2,010. Moravia is a small village.

Niles, taken from Sempronius in 1833; from Albany 160, from Auburn centrally distant, S. E., 15 miles. Kellogsville and West Niles are post-offices. Pop. 2,234.

Owasco, taken from Aurelius in 1802; from Albany 164 miles. Owasco, a small village, is 8 miles S. E. from Auburn. Pop. 1,331.

Scipio, organized as part of Ontario county in 1789; bounds since altered; from Albany 180, centrally distant S. from Auburn, 10 miles. Scipio, N. Scipio, Sherwood's Corners, and Scipioville are post-offices. Pop. 2,255.

Sempronius, organized in 1799; from Albany 153, from Auburn centrally distant, S. E., 16 miles. Skaneateles lake touches it on the N. Pop. 1,304.

Sennet, taken from Brutus in 1807; from Albany 160 miles. Sennet, 5 miles N. of Auburn, has about 30 dwellings. Pop. 2,060.

Springport, taken from Scipio and Aurelius in 1823; from Albany 166 miles. Pop. 1,891. Union Springs, so called from two springs whose united waters form a useful mill-stream, laid out in 1813, on the Cayuga lake, 10 miles S. W. from Auburn, has about 50 dwellings.

Sterling, the northernmost town, formed from Cato in 1812; from Albany 172, from Auburn, N., centrally distant 28 miles. Sterling, Martville, and Little Sodus are post-offices. Pop. 2,536.

Summer Hill, originally named Plato, and taken from Locke in

1821; from Albany 147, from Auburn, S. E., centrally distant 25 miles. Summer Hill, in the south part, has about 20 dwellings. Pop. 1,446.

Venice, taken from Scipio in 1823; W. from Albany 162 miles. Smith's Corners, 14 miles S. W. of Auburn, Talcott's 15, Tupper's 17, and Stuart's Corners, are small villages. Pop. 2,105.

Victory, taken from Cato in 1821; from Albany 167, from Auburn N., 20 miles. Lathrop's Corners has about 25 or 30 dwellings. Pop. 2,371.

CATTARAUGUS COUNTY.

Cattaraugus county, taken from Genesee in 1803; centrally distant from New York via Catskill, 384; from Albany, 292; from Buffalo, S. E., 50 miles. Length, E. and W., 39, and greatest breadth N. and S. 36 miles. It derives its name from the Indian word *Gah-ta-ra-ke-ras*, signifying stinking shore or beach, originally applied to Lake Erie, and thence extended over the adjacent country. This county is highly elevated, being from 500 to 1200 feet above Lake Erie. Its surface is broken by some hills of no mean pretensions to the character of mountains, but in general it is but moderately uneven, and in some parts quite level. In the S., along the Allegany river, there are broad belts of white pine, behind which there are marshes; excepting these, the lands are generally firm, and timbered with a variety of trees of lofty growth. No region of this state, and probably none of any other in the Union, was originally covered with an equal amount of valuable timber. Some of the trees have measured 230 feet in height, and five of them have been known to furnish an hundred "lumber-man's" logs. Shingles and boards for the supply of the whole western world, have been manufactured in the shingle shanties and saw-mills upon the Allegany and its tributaries. The lands in the N. part are warmer and better adapted to grain and grass crops than in the south, except at the S. W. corner. This county formed part of the Holland Land Company's purchase, who originally owned it all excepting the Indian reservations. About one eighth of the county is under improvement. The county is divided into 26 towns. Pop. 28,803.

Ashford, taken from Ellicottville in 1824; from Albany 282, from Buffalo 40, from Ellicottville, N., 10 miles. Pop. 1,462. Not more than a tenth part of the town is yet under improvement. The valley of the Cattaraugus creek, on the northern line of the town, is from 1 to 2 miles broad, and fertile. Ashford is a small village.

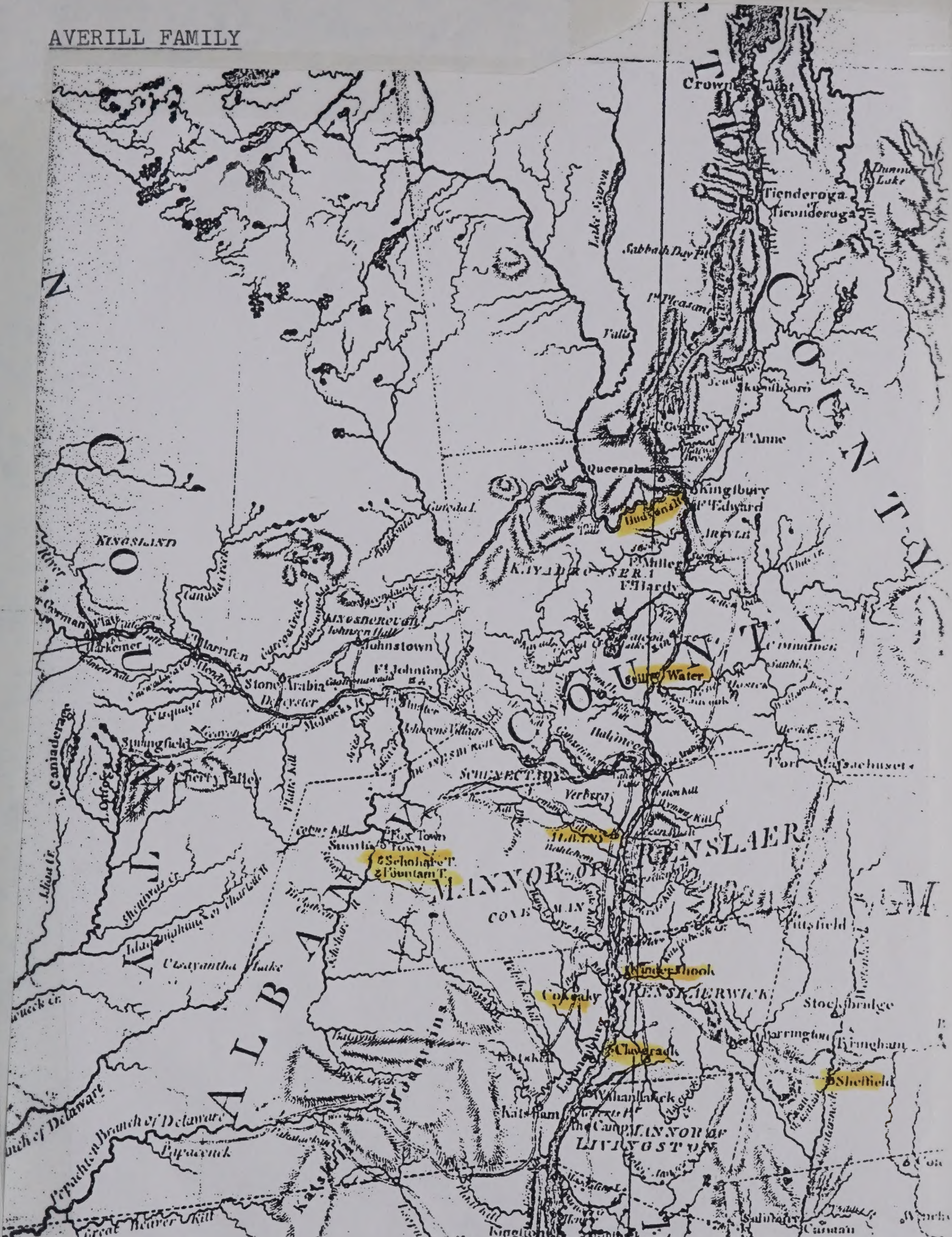
Burton was taken from Great Valley in 1831; centrally distant from Ellicottville, S. E., 16 miles. Pop. 511. "Allegany city," is a plot laid out some years since upon the Allegany river, near the eastern boundary. Not more than one thirtieth part of this town is under improvement.

Cold Spring was taken from Napoli, of which it formed the southern part. Pop. 673. This township is intersected by the Allegany river. At the mouth of Cold Spring creek, which enters this stream, is an "Indian village called *Tunes-assah;* the reservation, one mile in width along the river, extends some miles above and several below this point into Pennsylvania; this remnant lately had at its head the celebrated chief *Cornplanter*, who died early in the year 1836, aged about 100 years. Some of the tribe are wealthy; have large stocks of cattle, and some saw-mills. Much is due for the improvement of their condition to the judicious efforts of the society of 'Friends,' of Philadelphia, who have long maintained instructers among them, teaching the primitive arts of civilization, and who have a settlement in the southern part of the town." Some of the last of the Indian prophets incorporated a part of the tenets of Christianity into their pagan system. A few years since, a portion of the Indians in this town were in the practice of collecting around a log about 30 feet long, worked into a resemblance of the human form, to which they performed a kind of worship. The son of Cornplanter subsequently persuaded them to throw it into the river.

Cornplanter, the chief above-mentioned, it appears, was the son of a white man, who lived in the vicinity of Fort Plank; his mother was a young woman of the Seneca tribe. The Seneca Indians, during the revolutionary war, were led on against the Americans in the Mohawk valley, by Cornplanter, who, in one of his incursions, took his father prisoner. He however treated him well, and released him from confinement. In a letter written by Cornplanter to the governor of Pennsylvania in 1822, complaining of the attempt to impose taxes upon him and the Senecas residing on the Allegany, he began as follows:

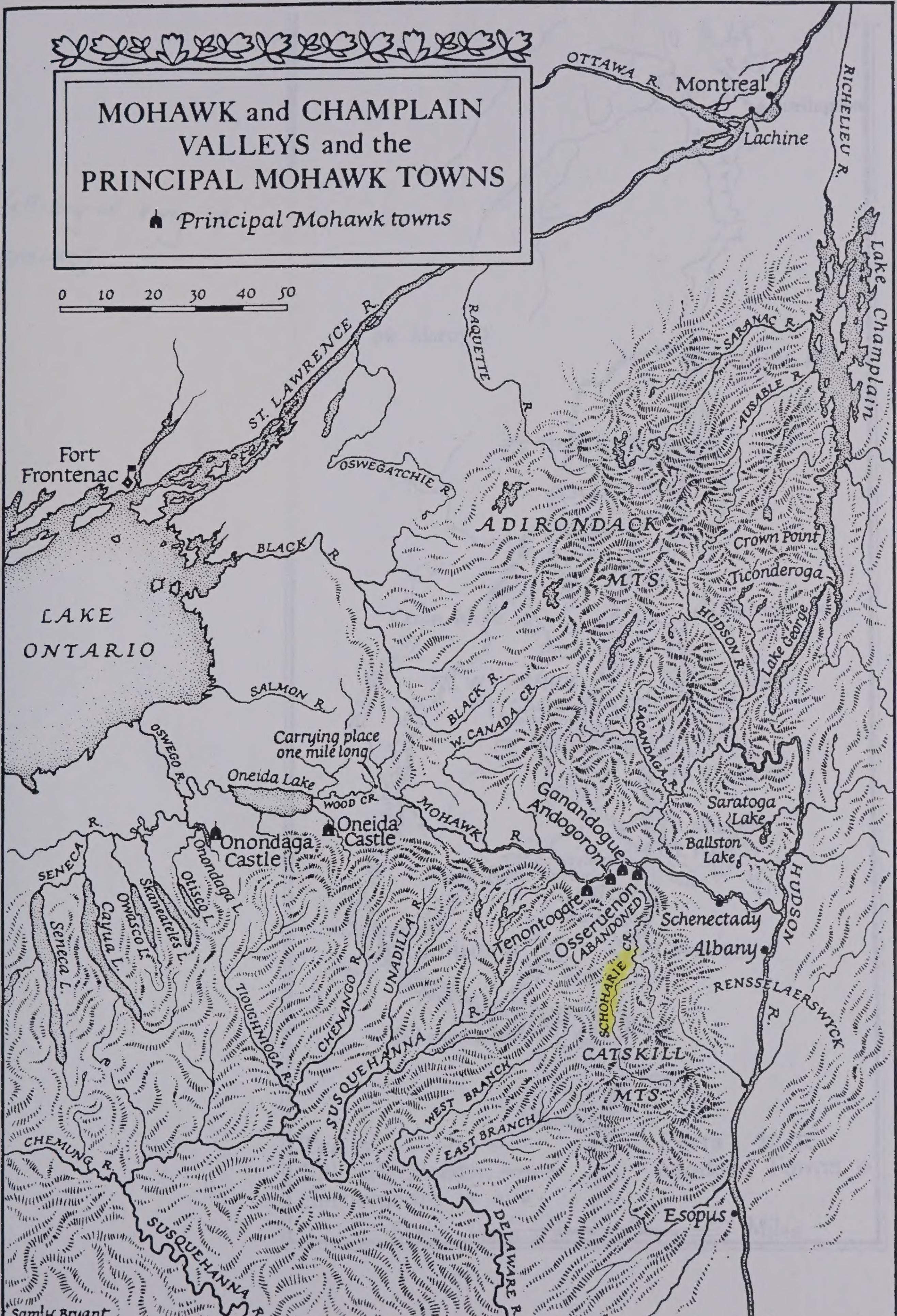
"When I was a child, I played with the butterfly, the grasshopper, and the frogs. As I grew up, I began to pay some attention, and play with the Indian boys in the neighborhood, and they took notice of my skin being a different color from theirs, and spoke about it. I inquired of my mother the cause, and she told me that my father was a resident of Albany. I ate still my victuals out of a bark dish: I grew up to be a young man, and married me a wife, but I had no kettle or gun. I then knew where my father lived, and went to see him, and found he was a white man and spoke the English language. He gave me victuals while I was at his house, but when I started to return home he gave me no provision to eat on the way. He gave me neither kettle nor gun, neither did he tell me that the United States were about to rebel against the government of England," &c. &c.

"Cornplanter lived to a great age, having deceased within the last eight or ten years. He was an able man, distinguished in subsequent negotiations. He was eloquent, and a great advocate for temperance. He made a very effective and characteristic speech upon that subject in 1822. 'The Great Spirit first made the world, and next the flying animals, and found all things good and prosperous. He is immortal and everlasting. After finishing the flying animals, he came down upon the earth and there stood. Then he made different kinds of trees, and woods of all sorts, and people of every kind. He made the spring and other seasons, and the weather suitable for planting. These he did make. But *stills*, to make whiskey to give to Indians, he did not make.' * * * * 'The Great Spirit told us that there were three things for people to attend to. First, we ought to take care of our wives and children. Secondly, the white people ought to attend to their farms and cattle. Thirdly, the Great Spirit has given the bears and deers to the Indians.' * * * 'The Great Spirit has ordered me to quit drinking. He wishes me to inform the people


ALBANY COUNTY
CHARLOTTE COUNTY
MANNOR OF RENSLAER
MANNOR OF LIVINGSTON
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
Sabbath Day Pt.
Lake George
Ft. George
Queensbury
Kingsbury
Ft. Edward
Hudsons Ft.
Saratoga
Ft. Miller
Ft. Hardy
Still Water
Halfmoon
Schenectady
Johnstown
Ft. Johnson
Johnson Hall
Stone Arabia
Springfield
Cherry Valley
Schoharie T.
Fountain T.
Fox Town
Albany
Kinderhook
Coxsaky
Claverack
Katskill
Katsham
Kingston
Esopus
Pittsfield
Stockbridge
Barrington
Tiringham
Sheffield
Salisbury
Canaan
Goshen
Torring
Cornwall
Fort Massachusets
Canada Cr.
Lake Otsego
Delaware

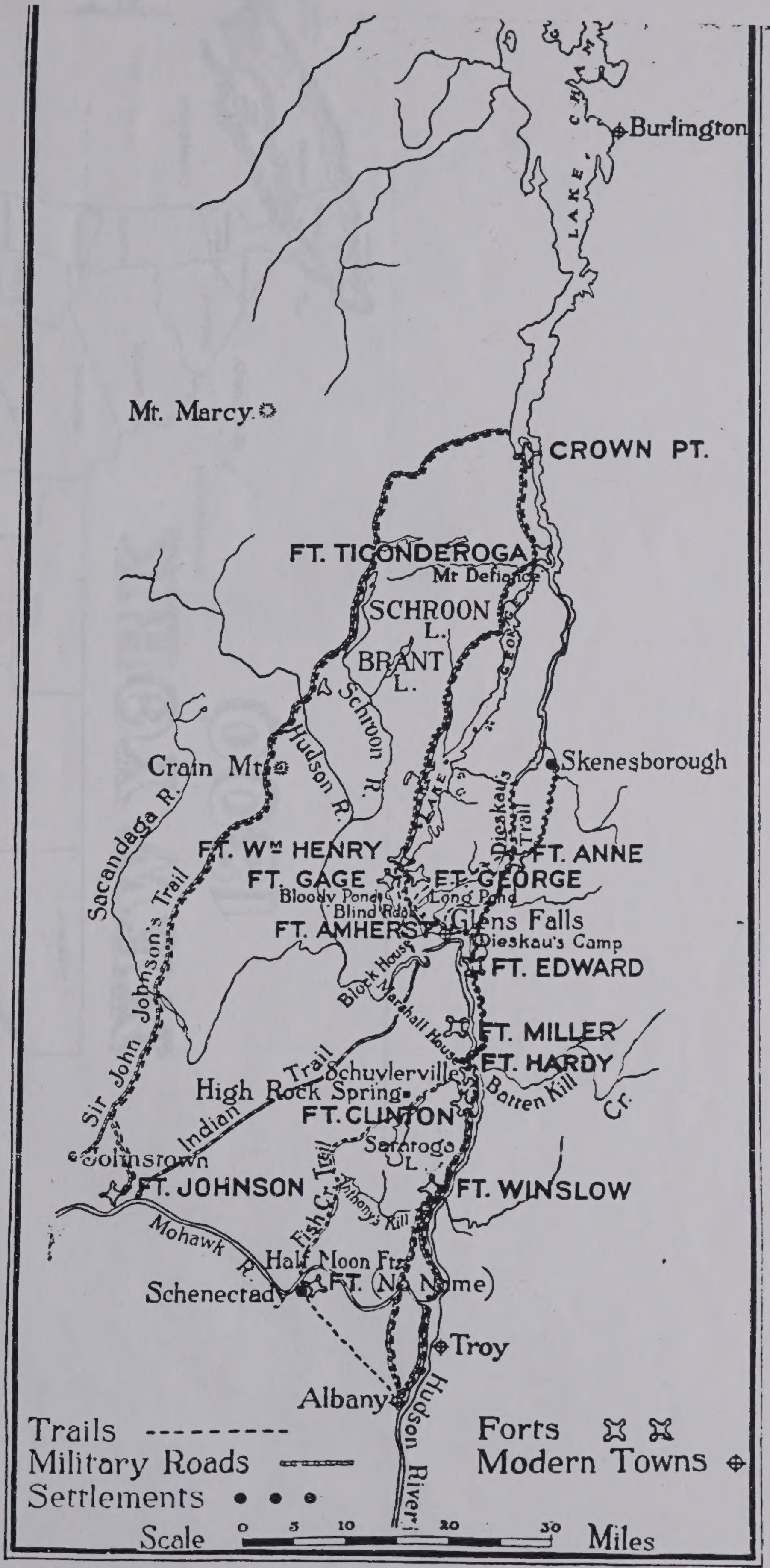
The Oblong → New Preston

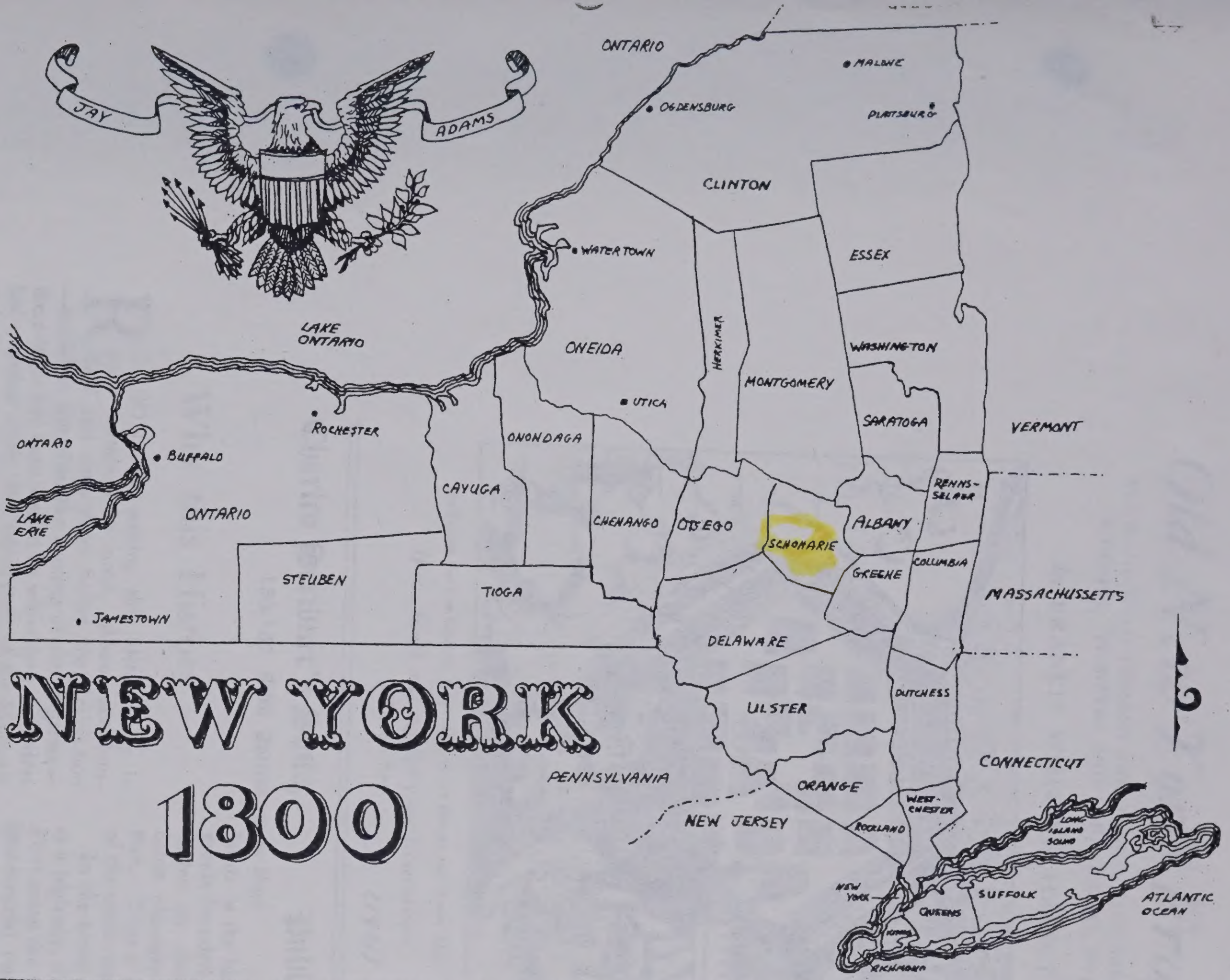
Old Albany County, New York during the French & Indian War. Some of our relatives moved there soon after this.


MOHAWK and CHAMPLAIN VALLEYS and the PRINCIPAL MOHAWK TOWNS

Principal Mohawk towns
0 10 20 30 40 50
OTTAWA R.
Montreal
Lachine
RICHELIEU R.
Lake Champlain
ST. LAWRENCE R.
RAQUETTE R.
SARANAC R.
AUSABLE R.
Fort Frontenac
OSWEGATCHIE R.
ADIRONDACK MTS.
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
BLACK R.
LAKE ONTARIO
HUDSON R.
Lake George
SALMON R.
BLACK R.
W. CANADA CR.
SACANDAGA R.
Carrying place one mile long
OSWEGO R.
Oneida Lake
WOOD CR.
MOHAWK R.
Ganandogue
Andogoron
Saratoga Lake
Ballston Lake
SENECA R.
Onondaga Castle
Oneida Castle
Seneca L.
Cayuga L.
Owasco L.
Skaneateles L.
Onondaga L.
Otisco L.
Tenontogare
Osseruenon (ABANDONED)
Schenectady
Albany
HUDSON R.
SCHOHARIE CR.
RENSSELAERSWYCK
TIOUGHNIOGA R.
CHENANGO R.
UNADILLA R.
SUSQUEHANNA R.
CATSKILL MTS.
WEST BRANCH
EAST BRANCH
CHEMUNG R.
SUSQUEHANNA R.
DELAWARE R.
Esopus
Saml H. Bryant

Plattsburg at very top
(1750-80)


LAKE CHAM
Burlington
Mt. Marcy
CROWN PT.
FT. TICONDEROGA
Mt Defiance
SCHROON L.
BRANT L.
Schroon R.
Hudson R.
Crain Mt.
Sacandaga R.
Sir John Johnson's Trail
LAKE GEORGE
Skenesborough
Dieskau's Trail
FT. Wm HENRY
FT. ANNE
FT. GAGE
FT. GEORGE
Bloody Pond
Blind Rock
Long Pond
FT. AMHERST
Glens Falls
Dieskau's Camp
FT. EDWARD
Block House
Marshall House
FT. MILLER
FT. HARDY
Schuylerville
Batten Kill
Cr.
Indian Trail
High Rock Spring
FT. CLINTON
Saratoga L.
Johnstown
FT. JOHNSON
Fish Cr. Trail
Anthony's Kill
FT. WINSLOW
Mohawk R.
Half Moon Fts.
Schenectady
FT. (No Name)
Troy
Albany
Hudson River
Trails
Military Roads
Settlements
Forts
Modern Towns
Scale
0 5 10 20 30
Miles

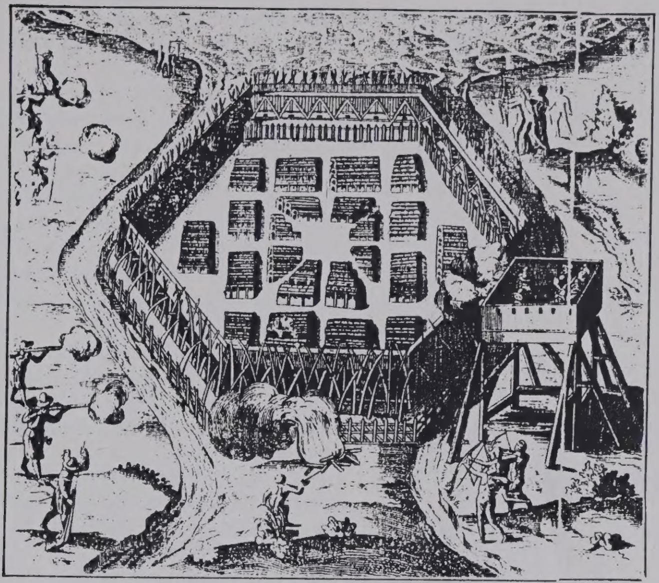

JAY
ADAMS
NEW YORK
1800
ONTARIO
OGDENSBURG
MALONE
PLATTSBURG
CLINTON
WATERTOWN
ESSEX
LAKE ONTARIO
ONEIDA
HERKIMER
WASHINGTON
MONTGOMERY
UTICA
ROCHESTER
ONONDAGA
SARATOGA
VERMONT
ONTARIO
BUFFALO
CAYUGA
RENNS-SELAER
LAKE ERIE
ONTARIO
CHENANGO
OTSEGO
SCHOHARIE
ALBANY
COLUMBIA
GREENE
STEUBEN
TIOGA
MASSACHUSSETTS
JAMESTOWN
DELAWARE
DUTCHESS
ULSTER
CONNECTICUT
PENNSYLVANIA
ORANGE
WEST-CHESTER
NEW JERSEY
ROCKLAND
LONG ISLAND SOUND
NEW YORK
QUEENS
SUFFOLK
ATLANTIC OCEAN
KINGS
RICHMOND

6

Old New York Frontier

ITS WARS WITH INDIANS AND TORIES. ITS MISSIONARY SCHOOLS. PIONEERS AND LAND TITLES, 1614-1800

By FRANCIS WHITING HALSEY



AN INDIAN FORT IN CENTRAL NEW YORK, BUILT BEFORE THE WHITE MAN CAME

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Why this History

REASONS for writing this history may in some numbers be cited. About one hundred and sixty years before the Revolution—earlier, in fact, than the landing of the Pilgrims—these lands had been visited by white men. Traders had travelled along the Indian trails of the Mohawk and Susquehanna valleys periodically all through that century and a half, while for at least a quarter of a century before the Revolution, missionaries had engaged in constant labor on the Susquehanna. By the missionaries, schools and churches were founded, and a beneficent and fruitful work was well under way when the war put a sudden end to peaceful activities. The lands on the Susquehanna for a considerable time were the frontier of the province of New York, the Unadilla River, one of the tributaries of the larger stream, forming another part of that boundary line between the Indians and the English, which was established by the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. Beyond this line no settlements were made until after the war, when the white man secured his first titles in that fertile region of Central and Western New York.

During the Revolution the upper Susquehanna became a base of operations from which the Indians and Tories, who had fled from the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys, found their way back into the settled parts of New York, and under Joseph Brant, Colonel John Butler, Walter H. Butler, and Sir John Johnson wrought their destruction. After peace returned, the history of these Susquehanna lands is the history of a chain of prosperous settlements founded mainly by men from New England States on sites where Scotch-Irish, German, and other pioneers had taken up lands before the conflict. Thus it becomes a history, furnishing a type of the settlement of Central New York.

In the history of the upper Susquehanna Valley as a highway, three distinct periods might be named. First come the trails of the Indian era, dating from immemorial times and including the years of the fur traders and the Protestant missions. Second is the time from 1770 to 1783, when by turns the valley was a road for pioneers coming into the country, to be driven out by fire and the tomahawk; a road for Indians bent on spoliation or massacre; a route by land and water for the soldiers of General Clinton; and, finally, a route along which the Indians, stirred to bitter revenge by General Sullivan's ravages, penetrated and laid waste all that remained of the Mohawk and Schoharie settlements. Third comes the period after the peace, when the valley was the road for settlers bound for the "Southern Tier" and Pennsylvania by way of Wattles's Ferry, from 1784 on for many years, and when from about 1800 it became at Unadilla the terminus of two great turnpikes, the Catskill and the Ithaca, which were the railroads of their time and along which for a quarter of a century ran the main course of trade and travel for a large inland territory.

This history has long waited for consecutive and full narration. More than half a century ago several writers dealt with certain interesting parts o it. Campbell, with an able and gentle hand, wrote the story of the settlement of Cherry Valley, and o stirring events in Tryon County during the Revolution. Stone wrote the biography of Brant as might one who loved Brant and honored his memory. Simms gathered into his several publications an extensive and curious array of material. Jay Gould, when still under age, revived much that Campbell and Simms had brought to light, and added other valuable information. Cooper, with accuracy and fulness, recorded the annals of the settlement developed by his father on Otsego Lake, all of which Cooper himself may be said to have seen and a large part of which he afterward was.

Some of these and other chronicles were printed sixty or more years ago. They all long since had passed out of print and out of the convenient reach of purchasers, some of them being now very scarce books. At the time of their publication, moreover, a large store of important material, printed and unprinted, which is now to be found in State archives and in libraries, was either inaccessible, or for other reasons was not drawn upon.*

This is true in eminent degree of the missionaries, of whom very little has been heretofore written, and by the above-mentioned writers, nothing. It is true in large degree of the Border Wars, the real origin and motives of which, especially on the side of Brant and his Indian followers, as well as the full details affecting this frontier, the author believes he has here more clearly set forth. In fact, by combining the new material with the old, it has now become possible to prepare a continuous historical record of the valley, covering the period from our day back to the years when the feet of white men first followed the Indian trails of the Susquehanna, almost three centuries ago.

But there are limitations which seem destined always to exist. Beyond certain dates, those of about two hundred years ago, the historical explorer has at times little more to guide him than isolated facts, and his imagination, as he seeks to find a way about in the dim twilight of Indian legend and scattered lore. It is not until the close of the seventeenth century that he is well assisted by illuminating records.

Previous to the Revolution, the growth and spread of settlements in America had been extremely slow everywhere. More than a century elapsed after Columbus found the New World, before Hendrick Hudson discovered the stream that bears his name. A still longer period passed away before the Pilgrims disembarked from the Mayflower. When permanent settlements were first planted in the Susquehanna Valley, two and a half centuries had come and gone since that memorable voyage from the Port of Palos.

Those centuries, so barren of history here, had witnessed events of great pith and moment elsewhere. England had gone forward from the Wars of the Roses almost to the reign of George III. Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Dryden, and Pope are among those gifted men of genius by whom her intellectual greatness had been advanced. Her political destiny meanwhile had been broadened and deepened under Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and Cromwell. In France had lived Richelieu and Louis XIV., while under Charles V. and Philip II. a vast Spanish empire had come into existence and decayed. On the banks of the Hellespont, only forty years before the voyage of Columbus, expired the last remnant of the Empire of Rome, which embraced at one time, as Gibbon said, "the fairest part of the earth and the most civilized portion of mankind."

On American soil we can point to little of striking renown during those generations. Near the end of them Washington had become a name associated honorably with the French War. Jonathan Edwards had astonished men in Europe, as well as here, with the vigor and subtlety of his mind. Franklin had made contributions to human knowledge of great worth and potency. But of other eminent names the records are bare. For the most part men had been born, had lived, toiled, and died absorbed in the simple pursuits of trade and domestic life.

In the province of New York the first successful men were fur traders who exchanged Dutch goods for beaver skins. During more than half a century after Hudson's arrival these Dutchmen did scarcely anything more. Villages grew up on Manhattan Island and in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys. The trader's boat penetrated down the head-waters of the Susquehanna. But wherever villages were founded, they were not so much permanent settlements as trading-posts. Theodore Roosevelt has justly observed that while the Dutch aspired to secure large wealth for the mother-country, they were devoid of ambition to found on these shores a free Dutch nation.

As traders, the Dutch never promised to open a way to great national wealth. For the eleven years between 1624 and 1635 the beaver skins received in Holland numbered only 80,182, and the otter and other skins, 9,447, or about 8,000 skins of all kinds per year. Albany, the fur depot for the whole interior, was described by Father Jogues, in 1644, as "a miserable little fort called Fort Orange, built of logs with four or five pieces of Breteuil cannon and as many swivels, with some twenty-five or thirty houses built of boards with thatched roofs." Except in the chimneys, "no mason's work had been used."

Scarcely more enterprise marked the first years of English rule. As late as 1695 the trade amounted to only £10,000, while in 1678 Governor Andros reported that a merchant worth $2,500 or $5,000 was "accounted a good, substantial merchant," and a planter "worth half that in movables" was a prosperous citizen. The value of all estates in the province was only $750,000. Clearly, that was a time of very small things, but they were among the fruitful beginnings of a land and people from which was to grow the greatest of all the States, and in them this frontier had an ample share.

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* Noteworthy material of this kind includes The Documentary History of the State of New York, 4 vols., 8vo; The New York Colonial Documents, 15 vols., quarto; The New York Colonial and Land Papers, 63 Ms. vols., fol.; The Public Papers of Governor George Clinton, edited by Hugh Hastings, State Historian, 4 vols., 8vo, the same being the part thus far published of the Clinton Manuscripts in the State Library, comprising 48 large folio volumes, these manuscripts having been largely used in the preparation of this work through permission from the State Library; The Journals of the Legislative Council and Provincial Congress, 4 vols., quarto; The New York Revolutionary Papers, 2 vols., quarto; The New York State Archives, 1 vol., quarto; The Journals of the Sullivan Expedition; The Draper Collection of Brant Manuscripts in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison, 23 vols., large octavo; The Sir William Johnson Manuscripts, in the State Library, 25 vols., large folio, and all of Parkman's writings. Most important of all this material, in so far as relates to the Border Wars, are the Clinton Papers and Manuscripts. The intelligence shown by Mr. Hastings in initiating and carrying forward the publication of these papers deserves special recognition. Only in the light of this correspondence can the whole story of this frontier in the Revolution be clearly understood. Stone saw some of the papers, but many others seem never to have passed under his eyes. A fuller list of authorities, the majority of which were unknown to earlier writers, will be found in the bibliography at the end of this volume.

these well-worn paths relays of men were known to cover the space from Albany to Buffalo in three days. One Indian could run one hundred miles in a day. This extraordinary skill has been ascribed to the absence of horses in America before the coming of Europeans. Indians, from necessity, acquired the accomplishment of the horse. They did more. They performed feats which only the well-trained bicyclist can perform to-day. They made century runs.

The upper Susquehanna and its branches, including the Unadilla, penetrated lands in which dwelt or hunted Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onondagas, while the Chemung penetrated the lands of the Senecas. These rivers, uniting at Tioga Point to become one river, flowed down from a large territory in which dwelt the Iroquois nations. That territory, as Morgan points out, is shaped somewhat like a triangle, of which Tioga Point is the apex, while its base is the great central trail from the Hudson to Lake Erie. Thus in Indian times, as in our own, this latter locality, the base of the triangle, possessed the greatest of all New York highways. Down these streams from the Long House of the Iroquois went almost every Indian who journeyed to the south, with Tioga the great central point of meeting.

The Susquehanna trails followed both sides of the stream; the one taking the north bank meeting at the Unadilla River the Oneida trail coming from the north. Proceeding up the Susquehanna, one trail went on to Otsego Lake and Cherry Valley, while the other followed the Charlotte,* crossing

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* The Indian name of this stream was Adaquetangie. When Sir William Johnson got his patent to the valley, he changed the name to Charlotte as a compliment to the Queen of George III., Queen Victoria's grandmother.

from the head of the stream to Cobleskill * and the Schoharie, † whence a trail ran along that stream to the Lower Castle of the Mohawks at Fort Hunter, and to Albany, with a branch following Catskill Creek to the Hudson River. For the Mohawk country, the Hudson River Valley and for lands east of the Hudson, here lay the most direct route west by the Susquehanna and Ohio, and south to Chesapeake Bay. On this subject of highways a truthful and pathetic speech was made in 1847 by Peter Wilson, a Cayuga chief, before the New York Historical Society, in these words:

> The Empire State, as you love to call it, was once laced by our trails from Albany to Buffalo—trails that we had trod for centuries—trails worn so deep by the feet of the Iroquois that they became your roads of travel, as your possessions gradually eat into those of my people. Your roads still traverse those same lines of communication which bound one part of the Long House to the other. Have we, the first holders of this prosperous region, no longer a share in your history? Glad were your fathers to sit down upon the threshold of the Long House. Had our forefathers spurned you from it when the French were thundering at the opposite gate to get a passage through and drive you into the sea, whatever has been the fate of other Indians, the Iroquois might still have been a nation, and I, instead of pleading here, for the privilege of living within your borders—I might have had a country.

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* Originally Cobus Kill and of German origin. An Indian name for it, given by Dr. Beauchamp, is Otsgaragu, meaning Hemp Hill.

† Many forms occur in earlier writings. Dr. Beauchamp gives the meaning, driftwood.

skip

32-35 missing

offered them Palatines land in America, and Queen Anne, who had given them food and shelter, advanced the money to pay their expenses across the sea.

Late in the year 1709, to the number of about 4,000, they set sail, and lived successively in New York, Livingston Manor, and Schenectady, a hundred and fifty families in 1714 taking up lands at a place called Weiserdorp, which is now known as Middleburg, in Schoharie County. These families were in a state of great poverty. One "borrowed a horse here, another there; also a cow and plow harness," and during the first year they "made many meals on the wild potatoes and ground beans that grew in great abundance." A moving spirit among them was the elder Conrad Weiser.

When trouble arose over titles to their Schoharie lands, which were claimed by Robert Livingston and others, a serious wrangle ensued, resulting in the sending of a sheriff from New York to Weiserdorp, a village of forty huts, constructed of logs, earth, and bark. A hostile reception awaited him, one of the incidents of which was an attack by a mob of women, led by Magdalene Zee (or Zeh), who carried the sheriff some distance on a rail, broke his ribs by pounding him with clubs, and otherwise did violence to him, the full details of which the present generation would not tolerate in print.

The Germans concluded to submit the matter to the English sovereign, and three men, including Weiser, were sent to London. While at sea, the ship was attacked by pirates and Weiser "three times tied up and floged, but would not confess to having money." On arrival, they found that Queen Anne had died and that news of their attack on the sheriff had seriously prejudiced their case. One of

Weiser's companions sailed for home in disgust and died at sea, while Weiser and the other were arrested and sent to prison—perhaps to the Tower, for Brown says Weiser spent a year in that ancient castle. On being released the two men quarrelled. Weiser's son says the trouble was they "both had hard heads."

Dissatisfaction in Schoharie grew apace and finally a general migration set in for Conestoga, Pa. The route chosen was the Charlotte and Susquehanna rivers. Thirty families are said by Rupp to have gone down in the summer of 1723, "a few months before Weiser's return." Some fifty others followed in 1725 and in 1729 another company departed.

1723

At the mouth of the Charlotte they built canoes with which to make the remainder of the journey, felling trees for the purpose. The tree-stumps were long remembered by Susquehanna settlers for their association with this migration. Twenty-five years later when Sir William Johnson applied for a patent he wished it to begin "where the Germans made their canoes to go to Conestoga." Household goods were transported in the canoes, and the horses and cattle driven along the Indian trail. Brown says deliberately that after reaching Conestoga, twelve horses broke from their stable and wandered away. A year and a half later ten of them were found at Weiserdorp, three hundred miles from Conestoga.

The younger Conrad Weiser, who made this journey, says there was want of leadership. Each man did as he pleased, "and their obstanacy has stood in their way ever since." Young Weiser rose to considerable eminence in Pennsylvania as an Indian agent, and his services to the Government were so important that Washington, standing at his grave in 1793, remarked that these services had been rendered in a difficult period and posterity would not forget him.

The migration from Schoharie had an important influence on the future population of Pennsylvania and New York. Had these Palatines fared better in Schoharie, it is not unlikely that the upper Susquehanna Valley would have been first peopled by that race instead of the Scotch-Irish, but the Palatines were not slow to inform their friends in the old country of their experience in New York and to advise them to settle in Pennsylvania instead. Many of the Palatines never left Schoharie however, and many others remained to found thriving settlements along the valley of the Mohawk, of which enduring evidence survives in the geographical nomenclature. From that pioneer stock came the central patriotic figure in the battle of Oriskany—General Nicholas Herkimer.

About 1722 young men sent out by Governor Burnet had reached Oghwaga. Fifteen years later the importance of the valley as a highway to the South and West had become fully understood. In 1737 Cadwallader Colden, the Surveyor-General of the province, made an official report showing the importance that he attributed to it. "Goods may be carried," he said, "from this lake (Otsego) in battoes or flat-bottom vessels through Pennsylvania to Maryland and Virginia, the current of the river running everywhere easy without any cataracts in all that long space." After describing the east and west branches of the Susquehanna, he added that "by either of these branches goods may be carried to the mountains, and I am told that the passage through the mountains to branches of the Mississippi which

issue on the west side of these mountains is neither long nor difficult, by which means inland navigation may be had to the Bay of Mexico." Twenty-five years later, at the close of the French War, Pouchot described the Susquehanna as "navigable almost from its source," and as "flowing through a beautiful valley filled with very fine timber."

It was not until the time of Johnson's trade activity that men with large purposes were regularly established on the river. Johnson's policy in sending his agents to Oghwaga, which he preferred to Oswego because of the absence of competition, resulted in its own reward. He became the most successful trader in the province.

Johnson was a native of Ireland and a nephew of Sir Peter Warren, the owner of a large tract of land at the mouth of the Schoharie Creek, in what is now the town of Florida. Johnson had become Warren's agent, and had engaged in the fur trade on his own account. Unlike the average trader of that time, Johnson was honest and fair in his dealings. ✓ Conspicuous for humanity, he won the regard of the Indians very early, and he retained it through life. He married a German wife, and soon found himself on the road to great success as a man of business. In 1739 he made plans for his trading post at Oghwaga. From this place trained agents were sent out along the net-work of trails, making contracts with the Indians at their own door—a method giving him vast advantage over the men who did business with Indians at Albany and Schenectady.

Albany had become very unpopular with the Indians. The younger Weiser records a conversation he once had with an Onondaga chief named Canas-

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many pages missing

in no small way been fruitful. Among his aids had been the two "pious Indians," named Isaac Dakayenensese and Peter Agwrondougwas, whom Spencer had converted. After Hawley's departure Peter carried on the missionary work alone, preaching at Oghwaga, and making journeys to other villages. In 1792 John Trumbull painted a miniature of Peter that may still be seen in Yale University. After Mr. Hawley's failure to return, Peter made a journey to Lebanon in midwinter, through deep snows, to ask for a new minister. Mr. Hawley continued his labors among Indians elsewhere. In 1758 he was settled over some tribes at Leicester, Conn., and later over others in Massachusetts, where he spent nearly half a century "in the most beneficient and self-denying labors for the salvation of his Indian brethren." He died in 1807 at the age of eighty. He was a native of Bridgeport and a graduate of Yale.

New Men at Oghwaga

1762–1763

AFTER the fall of Quebec, when the English became masters of North America east of the Mississippi and north of Florida, other missionaries took up Hawley's work. The Rev. Eli Forbes went down in June, 1762, having with him the Rev. Asaph Rice and an interpreter named Gunn, who is, perhaps, the missionary referred to by Brown as Gan. They went by the Mohawk to Canajoharie,[*] and thence to Cherry Valley, following the river to Oghwaga, now a town of three hundred inhabitants, chiefly Oneidas. Here they found Good Peter, and so impressed was Forbes with his character and work that he described him as the equal of any Englishman he knew in his Christian virtues and abilities. With their arrival we have a new chapter to chronicle in the missionary history of this valley.

In addition to the Stockbridge school, New England in those times possessed an institution for Indian boys at Lebanon, where, in 1743—five years before Spencer came down to Oghwaga—the Rev. Dr. Eleazer Wheelock had begun to teach Samson Occum. In 1759 Occum became an ordained minister, and then in 1761 went among the Oneidas as a missionary, with a letter from Johnson. He was sent out by the Boston commissioners, and perhaps visited Oghwaga. Dr. Wheelock's success with this Indian and others—and Occum rose to considerable repute afterward as a preacher—induced him to receive Indian children from New York, and as reports from Mr. Hawley at Oghwaga reached him, his hopes and plans for the civilization of the red man assumed large proportions. He gained the ear of Johnson as well as his confidence through having as one of his students a youth who was afterward to write his name large in the history of this frontier—Joseph Brant. Dr. Wheelock's school finally aroused the interest of nearly all the Colonial officials in America, who recommended it to their friends in England as "one of the noblest and most worthy objects of their Christian beneficence." The Rev. C. J. Smith was sent to England to solicit aid, and in time a total of about $47,500 was secured for the enterprise, the King heading the list with $1,000.

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[*] Meaning The Pot That Washes Itself, a reference to the circular gorge in the creek near its mouth.

Dr. Wheelock desired to secure a tract of land for an Indian educational institution, and many letters from him to Johnson have been preserved. His experience and his information had made him confident that a great work could be done among the Six Nations. Johnson, in 1763, wrote that the Oghwaga, Mohawk, Schoharie, and Canada Indians were "determined to live and die with the English," and that this was "due in great measure to the little knowledge they have acquired of our religion which I heartily wish was more known to them and the rest." In the same year Dr. Wheelock proposed that "a tract of land, fifteen or twenty miles square, or four townships, on the west bank of the Susquehanna river be given to form an Indian school."

To this scheme Johnson was not favorably disposed; he thought the education of Indians could be best carried on in places remote from Indian influence—a view to which, after some further experience, Dr. Wheelock came round.

Dr. Wheelock then proposed that something be done in the Wyoming country, where, he wrote, "I understand some of our people are about to settle on a new purchase on the Susquehanna: if it does not disoblige and prejudice the Indians, I should be glad, and it may be if that settlement should go on, a door may be open for my design on that purchase." Sir William said in reply that it would be "highly improper to attempt any settlement in their country as they (the Indians) are greatly disgusted at the great thirst which we all seem to show for their lands, and therefore I must give it as my opinion that any settlement on the Susquehanna may prove fatal to those who should attempt to establish themselves thereon, as the Indians have all declared, not only their greatest aversion thereto, but have all threatened to prevent such settlement." About this time Johnson wrote to the Lords of Trade that some of the missionaries had too often used their influence to get lands, and the Mohawks had lately told him "they apprehended the reason they had not clergy as formerly amongst them was because they had no more lands to spare."

Dr. Wheelock at one period unquestionably had great faith in the possibility of elevating the red men. In 1762 he said that for several years faithful men had been at work in Oghwaga. "The Indians are in some measure civilized," he wrote, "some of them baptised, a number of them, in a judgment of charity, real Christians." They had a sachem who was "a man of understanding" and "entirely friendly to the design of a school." Dr. Wheelock thought there was opportunity for one hundred missionaries and as many interpreters on the Susquehanna and elsewhere. In the following year he reported that Samuel Ashpo (or Ashbow) had spent six weeks at Jeningo, "from which he was obliged to retreat on account of a rupture between the Indians and the English." This referred to the conspiracy of Pontiac. In March, 1763, Forbes and Rice went to Oghwaga. They gathered a church and set up two schools, one for adults and one for children. In September Forbes returned to Lebanon, taking with him four Indian boys, one of whom was eventually graduated from Dr. Wheelock's school.

Pontiac's War and After It

1763–1768

MR. RICE remained at his post until, perhaps, the end of the summer of 1763; but not longer. In the Far West had now been organized the conspiracy led by Pontiac. Pontiac had fought with the French against Braddock, and, with the French cause now lost, aspired on his own account to wrest vengeance from the English. His conspiracy was the last remnant of a European struggle in America, extending over more than three quarters of a century. Ultimately it failed, but not until almost every white man had been driven from the Ohio Valley, and 2,000 men on the western frontier had lost their lives.

To this uprising and its influence on the Six Nations was due Johnson's German Flatts conference of September, 1763, to which came two hundred and seventy Indians from the Susquehanna villages. The Indians said they desired to renew the covenant chain, and declared that all their brethren on the river, as far down as Owego, were "friends and determined to remain so." Hostile Indians reached Oghwaga in the same season, their purpose being either to win over the Six Nations to Pontiac or to renew the warfare on the English settlements. By some of them Isaac Hollister, a Connecticut settler, had been taken prisoner in the Wyoming Valley and carried "up the Susquehanna about one hundred and fifty miles."

manage it, that if it should be diverted from that channel they must follow it, having no other way or art to get a livelihood.

In the following year, by an order in Council, Penn was deprived of the Governorship of Pennsylvania, and new accusations were made of treasonable correspondence with James, who was now a king in exile. But the men of New York, thanks to Dongan,* had forever secured the Susquehanna Valley. In 1711 we find them giving an order to the Indians living on the river to send their fighting men to Albany to join an English expedition against the French in Canada. Thenceforth until the Revolution the English often repeated this appeal and not in vain.

Following the fur traders came actual settlers. Along the lower Mohawk white men had established homes soon after the Dutch came to New York, but in the main these were only trading posts, just as Albany itself originally was one. Schenectady was the most important, the place being actually settled somewhat later—about 1660. By 1690 it had grown to be a town of eighty houses surrounded by a stockade. At midnight in February of that year Frontenac burned all those houses and killed sixty-three persons. Royal grants of land further west along the Mohawk came later still. Even the English were slow to set value on the vast areas of fertile soil that lay uncultivated in the Western wilderness.

Near Fort Hunter, John P. Maibae acquired a

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* Thomas Dongan's services to the Province of New York have been most lastingly commemorated in that instrument called after him—the "Charter of Liberties and Privileges" of 1686, which remains a landmark in the history of popular government in America.

patent in 1705, while in the same year was issued the great Oriskany patent on which Fort Stanwix was afterward to be built, and which remained for many years the extreme outpost of the white men's landed possessions in the Province of New York; but the real "thirst for land" did not actually set in among the English until twenty or thirty years later, in the time of Governor Burnet, who with large foresight planted the trading post and fort at Oswego. To that period belong the patents issued in the Mohawk Valley to Lewis Morris, Robert Livingston, Rutgerd Bleeker, Abram Van Horn, and Frederick Morris, and the great Cosby's Manor grant extending from German Flatts westward beyond Utica, on both sides of the stream.

When the Protestant missionaries took up their work, the upper Susquehanna had become familiar ground to many white men, a few of whom had secured titles to land. It is not surprising to find that the first men who became owners of land were traders, or men interested in the trade, or that they still more frequently were men whose official places enabled them to secure grants advantageously.

John Lindesay, who obtained the Cherry Valley patent in 1738, and founded the settlement at that place in the following year under the name of Lindesay's Bush, had been Sheriff of Albany County, and in company with Philip Livingston, who lived in Albany and was a commissioner of Indian affairs, for more than twenty-five years, had obtained in 1730 a patent on the Mohawk near Little Falls. Lindesay secured the Cherry Valley tract while George Clarke was Lieutenant-Governor. Clarke, who was interested in the tract, came to America

quehanna. During the negotiations a committee of four Indians, named Tyarwruanto, Ganaquieson, Tyeransen, and Tagawarn had advised Johnson that the line should run from Oriskany "to the Tianaderha," and down that stream to the Susquehanna; thence "in a straight line to the hills and so to the Delaware branch and down the same to Owegy." That line from the mouth of the Unadilla to Deposit (then called Cookose) remains to this day the western boundary of Delaware County.

Sir William, among other difficulties in negotiating this treaty, encountered opposition from missionaries. He says they "did all in their power to prevent the Oneidas (whose property part of the Susquehanna is) from agreeing to any line that might be deemed reasonable." They had publicly declared to several gentlemen that they "had taken infinite pains with the Indians to obstruct the line and would continue so to do." He added that the New Englanders "had had missionaries for some time amongst the Oneidas and Oghwagas and I was not ignorant that their old pretension to the Susquehanna lands was their real, though religion was their assumed, object."

Johnson's correspondence with the British Minister, Lord Hillsborough, discloses some of the peculiar circumstances in which Johnson negotiated this treaty. The King, George III., was indisposed to pay so large a sum as $50,000. He thought the demands of the savages "very unreasonable," and was unwilling that the mother country should have "any part or expence of a measure calculated for the local interests of particular colonies." Johnson, however, had been obliged to proceed on his own responsibility before the letter, containing the King's

The Patent Called Wallace's

1770

By the terms of the Fort Stanwix deed, that portion of Sir William Johnson's Susquehanna domain which lay west of the mouth of the Unadilla had passed again into the hands of the Indians. To the remainder, being lands between the mouth of the Unadilla and the mouth of the Charlotte, a new patent in 1770 was granted to Alexander Wallace and many associates. An account of this patent may be given in detail to illustrate the circumstances in which so many patents on this frontier were in that period obtained.

In the year of the Fort Stanwix deed two well-known merchants of New York were Hugh Wallace and a younger brother Alexander, both natives of Ireland. Hugh had been in the country as early as 1753, but Alexander came several years later. Each had married a daughter of Cornelius Low, and thus was connected with some of the most distinguished families in the New York colony. The name of Low ranked among the best names in the aristocracy of that seaport town whose population was then under 20,000. For several years the brothers were prominently engaged in the Irish trade, their ships making voyages to Cork and Dublin. Hugh was the second president of the Chamber of Commerce. In 1769, the year following the deed, Hugh was chosen a member of the Provincial Council and continued to hold the office until

Too Early

earnest and successful, of the Christian faith, and conspicuous for the purity of his life. He died amid the grief of all good men, on the first day of August, in the year of our Lord 1801.]

[Maria, the beloved wife of Jonathan Edwards, is also commemorated by this monument. In urbanity, goodness, and piety, she was most worthy of that excellent man. In 1782, she was unfortunately drowned at New Haven, Connecticut, where her remains repose.]

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SCHOHARIE COUNTY.

Schoharie* county was taken from Albany and Otsego counties in 1795: greatest length N. and S. 30, greatest breadth E. and W. 25 miles. Centrally distant NW. from New York 150, from Albany W. 42 miles. In the western part of this county is the dividing ridge between the waters of the Mohawk and those of the Susquehannah and Delaware. In the eastern part it has the Cattskill and Helleberg† mountains. It has the valley of the Schoharie creek north and south through its centre, along which the alluvial flats are very extensive, with a soil of loam and vegetable mould, peculiarly rich and fertile. Much of the surface of this county is hilly, with some of a mountainous character. The soil of the uplands is of various qualities, generally better adapted to grass than to grain. The Schoharie creek, a large tributary of the Mohawk, has its rise in Green county, and flows northward through the centre of this county. In its course it receives several smaller streams, the principal of which are the Cobelskill on the west, and Foxes creek on the east. The Cattskill has its source in the eastern part of the county, and the Delaware and Susquehannah in the western. The county is well watered, and possesses many fine mill sites. In the towns of Summit, Jefferson, Blenheim, Broome, and the uplands of Middleburg and Fulton, the tenure of the soil is generally held by lease; the fee-simple being in proprietors of large tracts; but in these towns, there are many tracts upon the creek, which the Germans have taken up in fee, the common tenure of the northern towns. The towns of Schoharie, Cobelskill, Sharon, Fulton, Middleburg, and portions of Blenheim and Broome, have a population of German origin. The German language prevails among the older inhabitants, but their children are educated and converse in English. The early settlers suffered much from Indian hostilities, and during the revolution the country was overrun by the British and Indians under Sir John Johnson, Brant, and the infamous Walter Butler. The county is divided into 11 towns. At the commencement of the revolution this

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*** Schoharie, Indian name for driftwood.**

† Helleberg, German—Helderburg, Dutch. The early settlers of Schoharie passed over this mountain on their route thither, and gave it this name, which signifies the "sightly hill."—*J. R. Simms.*

whole territory scarcely contained 1,000 inhabitants; the greater part of these inhabited the valley of the Schoharie river. The population in 1840 was 32,351.

BLENHEIM, organized in 1797; from Albany W. 44 miles. Pop. 2,726. North Blenheim, 15 miles S. from Schoharie, and Blenheim, are small villages.

BROOME, originally named Bristol, was organized in 1797; centrally distant S. from Schoharie 15 miles. Pop. 2,404. Gilboa, Broome, Livingstonville, Plattakill, and Smithtown, are small villages or settlements. The monument of David Williams, who died in this town, is at Livingstonville, and has the following inscription: "DAVID WILLIAMS, the only surviving captor of Andre, died August 1st, 1831, aged 77. Amor patriæ vincit," (the love of country conquers.)

CARLISLE, taken from Cobelskill and Sharon in 1807; from Schoharie NW. 10 miles. Pop. 1,850. Carlisle and Grosvenors Corners are small villages.

COBELSKILL* was formed from Schoharie in 1797. Near the brick meeting-house is one of those subterraneous streams common to limestone countries. Cobelskill, 10 miles W. of Schoharie, Lawyersville, Punchkill, Richmondville, and Mann's Valley, are small villages.

In the summer of 1779, a party of Onondaga Indians, after the destruction of their town by Col. Van Schaick, made an incursion into this section, the account of which is thus given by Campbell in his Annals:—

"There was at this time a little settlement, consisting of only nineteen families, on the Cobbleskill creek, ten miles west of Schoharie. Though they had erected no fortifications, they had prepared for defence, by organizing a company of militia, and procuring arms and ammunition. About the middle of May, it was reported at a meeting of the militia, that some straggling Indians had been seen in the neighborhood, and a scout of three men, one of whom was suspected of being secretly a royalist, was sent out into the forest. On the return of the scout, they met two Indians near the settlement, who accosting them in friendly terms, and pretending to be hunting, were suffered to pass. The Indians took a circuitous route, and in a short time met them again. The suspected individual had now disappeared, having taken a different path to the settlement. The Indians still pretended friendship; one of them familiarly took the musket from one of the men, and knocking out the flint, handed it back. The other attempted the same thing, but his adversary perceiving his intention, shot him. His companion fled, and the men returned to the settlement. This circumstance, together with a rumor that a large body of Indians were on their march for Schoharie, excited fears that this little settlement would be the first object of their revenge. They immediately despatched a messenger to Schoharie with the intelligence, and directed him to ask for assistance. A part of a company of continental soldiers, under the command of Captain Patrick, was sent the same day to Cobbleskill. The next morning a party of Indians were seen to cross the creek and return again into the woods. A small detachment of men were sent in pursuit. These were soon driven back by superior force. Captain Patrick then marched the whole of his little band, and 15 volunteers of the militia, to their support. The Indians were driven back, but soon made a stand, and after firing again retreated. They continued to retreat, disputing the ground at every step, evidently increasing in number, until the conflict became exceedingly fierce. Captain Patrick was at first wounded, and afterward killed, when his men sought safety in flight. The Indians immediately pursued them, and at the same instant the main body, which had been concealed in the thickets, rushed forth, and with deafening yells poured a shower of rifle balls upon the fugitives; their number, as afterward ascertained, was about 300.

"The death of Captain Patrick alone saved his men from entire destruction; in a few moments more they would have been surrounded, and their retreat cut off.

"The inhabitants of the settlement, as soon as they saw the fugitives emerging from the woods, pursued by the Indians, fled in an opposite direction, and all arrived safe at Schoharie; their escape was favored by the desperate resistance of seven of the soldiers, who, taking possession of a house, fired from the windows, and checked the pursuit of the enemy. The Indians at length succeeded in setting the house on fire, and six of its brave defenders perished in the flames; the other was afterward found a few rods distant, much burned, and horribly mutilated; a roll of continental money was put in his hand, as if in derision of the cause which he supported. The enemy set fire to the buildings in the vicinity, and after burying their dead and mangling the dead bodies of the soldiers, retired without pursuing the fugitives further. Of the 45 who went out, 21 escaped, 22 were killed, and 42 taken prisoners. The Indians suffered severely."

General James Dana moved into this town soon after the revolutionary war, and was a resident till his death. He was born in Ashford, Connecticut, October 10th, 1732. The following notice respecting this meritorious officer is from the manuscript of I. H. Tiffany, Esq., of Fultonville, which he has drawn up with care and accuracy. Most of the facts here stated were related to Mr. Tiffany by General Dana himself, January 7th, 1816.

He appears to have commenced his military career among the provincial troops, under Sir William Johnson. He assisted in building the fort at Lake George, and was at the battle of Lake Champlain, where the fortification was attacked by the French, and General Johnson wounded. At the commencement of the American revolution, he was a captain in Colonel Storr's regiment, in General Putnam's brigade of Connecticut militia. He arrived at the American camp at Cambridge, where General Ward commanded, immediately after the affair at Lexington. He was among the troops ordered to throw up a breastwork on Bunker's Hill. A half-moon fortification of facines and dirt was erected during the night. Colonel Prescott was the engineer; he requested Captain Dana's orderly sergeant to assist in laying out the fortification. The British embarked at Winnimesset ferry.

When the second division of 500 troops landed, they marched up Malden river to gain the rear of the American fortification. This movement was first perceived by Captain Dana, and communicated to General Putnam. By his orders, 500 of the Connecticut troops were marched down and took up their position, and formed two deep behind a fence. Captain (afterward Colonel) Knowlton commanded this detachment. Captain Dana was the second in command. Putnam, in giving his directions, said to these officers, "Do you remember my orders at Ticonderoga?" "*Yes*," was the reply: "*you told us not to fire till we could see the whites of the enemy's eyes.*" "Well," says Putnam, "I give the same orders now."

The British advanced with muffled drums and soft fifes; the officers and soldiers got over the fence south of the American line. Captain Dana was posted in the centre, towards which the British column was advancing. The order was, "death to any man who fired before Captain Dana." When the column was eight rods distant, Dana ordered the rear rank down flat. At this word the British officer faced about and ordered the column to display from the centre. At that instant Captain Dana, Lieutenant Grosvenor, and orderly-sergeant Fuller fired, and the British commanding officer (supposed to be Major Pitcairn) fell mortally wounded. The British troops broke and retreated, formed and advanced again, which probably occupied thirty minutes. When they arrived at the fence they fired. Lieutenant Grosvenor was wounded in the hand, and a bullet also passed through a rail and lodged in his shirt, flatted and harmless. Captain Knowlton's musket barrel was broken off by a cannon ball. Lieutenant Grosvenor bound up his hand and retired from the field. Within four or five minutes after Grosvenor was wounded, a cannon ball struck a rail against Dana's breast, which knocked him down breathless. He however recovered, and remained until the line was ordered off. When he arrived at his quarters, he was confined to his room, and unable to dress or undress himself for several days.

The first countersign given by General Washington after the battle of Bunker Hill was

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* Mr. Jephtha R. Simms, of Fultonville, who is at present writing a history of Schoharie county and its vicinity, for which object he has taken pains in collecting authentic and original information, in a letter to the authors thus alludes to the orthography of this name. "Cobelskill has been written Cobuskill, Cobbleskill, and as I write it. In the laws which record the formation of that town, it is spelled Cobelskill. The name of the man after whom it was called was Cobel."

"Knowlton," and the parole "Dana." In July, after the battle of Bunker Hill, an oration was delivered by Dr. Leonard, Washington's chaplain. After the oration and declaration had been pronounced, an aid of General Washington advanced from the head-quarters, bearing the American standard, with an order from the general directed to Captain Dana to receive it, and carry it three times around the front or interior circle of the army; furthermore, that in so doing he must not let the colors fall, as it would be considered as ominous of the fall of America. The captain declined, fearful of his ability to perform this duty in a proper manner. The aid returned to head-quarters with the apology: but soon came back with General Putnam, who, in his familiar way, clapped Captain Dana upon the shoulder, and said, "God curse it, Dana, you look like a white man; take the colors, clear away." The army immediately opened a passage to the right and left for his excellency General Washington, and the other officers. The next day the general in his orders expressed the most flattering approbation of the manner in which Captain Dana had performed the ceremony of displaying the flag.

Captain Dana was 6 feet and 1 inch in height, noble and commanding in his appearance, but modest and retiring in his manners. He was frequently offered promotion in the army, but uniformly declined. The celebrated General Eaton, afterward so distinguished in the war with Tripoli, was at the age of fifteen his waiter and secretary. He was put under Captain Dana at the request of his father. After the close of the revolution, Captain Dana removed to Cobelskill, where he occupied a small log-cabin or house till his death. Notwithstanding his humble circumstances, the legislature of New York, in consequence of his meritorious services in the revolution, appointed him a brigadier-general, being the first who held that office in the county of Schoharie.

Conesville, taken from Broome in 1836, is the SE. corner town of the county; from Schoharie centrally distant 20 miles. Pop. 1,621. Conesville is a post-office. Strikersville is a small settlement near the western line.

Fulton, taken from Middleburg in 1828; from Albany 42 miles. On Stoney creek, in this town, there is a fall of nearly 100 feet perpendicular. Byrnville, 14 miles SW. from Schoharie, Fultonham, and Breakabeen, are small settlements. Pop. 2,146.

Jefferson, taken from Blenheim in 1803; from Albany 57, from Schoharie SW. 20 miles. Pop. 2,033. This town is inhabited by eastern emigrants and their descendants, who are extensively engaged in the dairy business and grazing. Lake Utsayanthe, a small pond here, is the source of the Mohawk branch of the Delaware. Jefferson is a small village.

Middleburg was taken from Schoharie in 1797; from Albany 37 miles. Pop. 3,841. The inhabitants are principally of Dutch or German origin. Middleburg, on the Schoharie river, 5 miles S. from Schoharie, is a village containing about 50 dwellings. Huntersland and Franklinton are small settlements.

Remains of the old Middle Fort, noted in the revolutionary annals, are now to be seen a short distance from Middleburg village, on the plain east of the road to Schoharie. The Upper Fort was 5 miles SE., near the margin of the Schoharie river, in the present limits of Fulton,—the lower was at the village of Schoharie, 5 miles N. This last was built for a church, and is at present used as such. [See Schoharie.] The annexed account of the attack on the Middle Fort by the British and Indians, is taken from the "Life and Adventures of Timothy Murphy, the Benefactor of Schoharie," a pamphlet published in 1839.

"In the fall of 1780, the enemy, about 800 strong, under Sir John Johnson, made preparations for destroying the valleys of Schoharie and the Mohawk. The forces, consisting of British regulars, loyalists, tories, and Indians, assembled on the Tioga, and marched thence up along the eastern branch of the Susquehannah, and crossed thence to Schoharie. On the 16th of October, they encamped about four miles above the upper fort. It was their intention to pass the upper fort in the night, and to attack the middle fort at daybreak: as it was expected that the upper fort would be the first object of attack, they hoped to surprise the middle fort by this unexpected movement. Sir John had ordered his troops to be put in motion at four in the morning, but from some mistake it was five before they began their march; consequently the rear guard was discovered by the sentinels of the upper fort, and the alarm gun was fired, which was quickly answered from the other forts, and 20 riflemen, under the supervision of Timothy Murphy,* were sent out from the middle fort to watch the motions of the enemy; they soon fell in with the advanced party, and retreated back. The firing of the alarm gun disappointed the enemy, and became the signal for them to commence the destruction of the settlement; houses, barns, and stacks of hay were burned, and cattle, sheep, and horses were killed or driven away.

"The Indians being in advance of the regular forces, were the first to approach the fort. Murphy, whose eye was ever watching the enemy, had stationed himself in a ditch a few rods south of the fort, that he might, unperceived, the better view the movements of the enemy. The Indians approached to within about eighty yards of the fort, when Murphy fired upon them; and as he arose the second time to fire, a bullet struck within a few inches of his face, and glanced over his head, throwing dirt in his eyes. He then ran into the fort, not however without bringing to the ground another Indian.

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* Murphy, who was of great service to the inhabitants of Schoharie, was a native of Virginia, and had belonged to Morgan's rifle corps, in which he had distinguished himself as a marksman. After the capture of Burgoyne, the company to which he belonged was ordered to Schoharie, where it remained until their term of service expired. When the company was disbanded, Murphy and some others remained, and served in the militia; his skill in the desultory war which the Indians carry on, gave him so high a reputation, that though not nominally the commander, he usually directed all the movements of the scouts that were sent out, and on many important occasions the commanding officers found it dangerous to neglect his advice; his double rifle, his skill as a marksman, and his fleetness either in retreat or pursuit, made him an object both of dread and of vengeance to the Indians; they formed many plans to destroy him, but he always eluded them, and sometimes made them suffer for their temerity.

He fought the Indians in their own way, and with their own weapons. When circumstances permitted, he tomahawked and scalped his fallen enemy; he boasted after the war that he had slain forty of the enemy with his own hand, more than half of whom he had scalped; he took delight in perilous adventures, and seemed "to love danger for danger's sake." Tradition has preserved the account of many of his exploits; but there are so many versions of the same story, and so much evident fiction mixed with the truth, that we shall give but a single instance as a proof of the dread with which he was regarded by the Indians.

They were unable to conjecture how he could discharge his rifle twice without having time to reload; and his singular good fortune in escaping unhurt, led them to suppose that he was attended by some invisible being who warded off their bullets, and sped his with unerring certainty to the mark. When they had learned the mystery of his double-barrelled gun, they were careful not to expose themselves too much until he had fired twice, knowing that he must have time to reload his piece before he could do them further injury.

One day, having separated from his party, he was pursued by a number of Indians, all of whom he outran excepting one; Murphy turned round, fired upon this Indian, and killed him. Supposing that the others had given up the pursuit, he stopped to strip the dead, when the rest of his pursuers came in sight. He snatched the rifle of his fallen foe, and with it killed one of his pursuers; the rest, now sure of their prey, with a yell of joy heedlessly rushed on, hoping to make him their prisoner; he was ready to drop down with fatigue, and was likely to be overtaken, when, turning round, he discharged the remaining barrel of his rifle, and killed the foremost of the Indians; the rest, astonished at his firing three times in succession, fled, crying out that he could shoot all day without loading.—*Annals of Tryon county.*

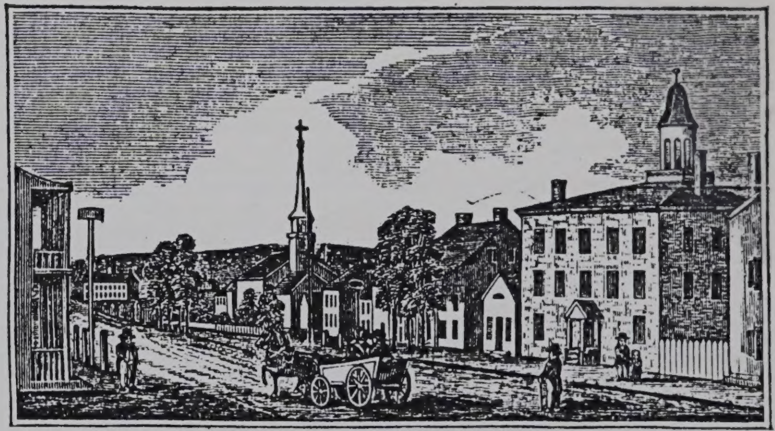
"In stature, Murphy was about 5 feet 6 inches, and very well proportioned, with dark complexion, and an eye that would kindle and flash like the very lightning when excited. He was exceedingly quick in all his motions, and possessed an iron frame that nothing apparently could effect. And what is very remarkable, his body was never wounded or scarred during the whole war."

"About 8 o'clock the enemy commenced a regular attack on the fort, which was returned with effect from the garrison. The regular troops fired a few cannon shot, and threw a number of shells, one of which burst in the air above the fort, doing no injury; another entered and burst in the upper loft of the fort, doing no other mischief than destroying a quantity of bedding, and nearly frightening to death a little Frenchman who had fled to the chamber for protection, and came running down stairs, at the same time exclaiming, '*de diable pe among de fedders.*' The interior of the fort was several times on fire, but was as often extinguished by the exertions of the women. The Indians retreated behind a row of willow trees, and kept up a constant fire, but at too great a distance to do effect. In the fort, all was gloom and despondency; the garrison only amounted to 150 regular troops, and about 100 militia. Their ammunition was nearly exhausted—to attempt to defend the fort, appeared to be madness;—to surrender, was to deliver up themselves, their wives and children to immediate death, or at least to a long captivity. Major Wolsey, who commanded the fort, was inclined to surrender on the first appearance of the enemy, but was prevented by the officers of the militia, who resolved to defend it or to die in the contest. Wolsey's presence of mind forsook him in the hour of danger; he concealed himself at first with the women and children in the house, and when driven out by the ridicule of his new associates, he crawled round the intrenchments on his hands and knees, amid the jeers and bravos of the militia, who felt their courage revive as their laughter was excited by the cowardice of the major. In times of extreme danger, every thing which has a tendency to destroy reflection by exciting risibility has a good effect.

"The enemy, perceiving that their shot and shells did little or no execution, formed under shelter of a small building near the fort, and prepared to carry the works by assault. While the preparations were making, a flag was seen to approach the fort; all seemed inclined to admit it, when Murphy and Bartholomew Vroman, who suspected that it was only an artifice to learn the actual strength of the garrison, and aware that for them at least there was no safety in capitulation, fired upon the flag. The flag retired, and some soldiers were ordered to arrest Murphy; but so great was his popularity among the soldiers, that no one dared to obey. The flag approached a second time, and was a second time driven back by Murphy and his adherents. A white flag was then ordered to be raised in the fort, but Murphy threatened with instant death any one who should obey. The enemy sent a flag the third time, and on Murphy's turning to fire upon it, Wolsey presented his pistol and threatened to shoot him if he did;—but not in the least intimidated by the major's threat, Murphy very deliberately raised his rifle, and pointing it towards him, firmly replied, 'I will die before they shall have me prisoner.' Major Wolsey then retired to his room, where he remained until Col. Vroman was despatched in search of him. He was found covered up in bed, trembling like a leaf. Col. Vroman accosted him, 'Was you sent here to sneak away so, when we are attacked by the tories and Indians? and do you mean to give up the fort to these bloody rascals?'—To which Major Wolsey made no reply, but consented to yield up the command to Col. Vroman. At this change of officers, unanimous joy pervaded the whole fort. And even the women* smiled to behold the portly figure of Col. Vroman stalking about the fort—directing and encouraging the soldiers in his melodious Low Dutch notes.

"The British officers now held a council of war, and after a short consultation withdrew; and then proceeded down the Schoharie creek, burning and destroying every thing that lay in their way. The loss of the garrison in this affair was only one killed and two wounded, one mortally. It is not known what loss the enemy sustained, or why they retreated so hastily."

SCHOHARIE was organized in 1788, as part of Albany county: it has a hilly surface, with extensive valleys on the Schoharie and Fox creeks. The Schoharie creek, at this place, is about 10 rods wide, and the flats on its borders are from 1 to 2 miles wide and of surpassing fertility. Pop. 5,532. Schoharie village, the county seat, lies on the flats, near the junction of Schoharie and Fox creeks, 32 miles W. of Albany. It contains about 100 dwellings, the county buildings, 1 Lutheran and 1 Dutch Reformed church, and an academy. The above engraving is a SW. view in the central part of the village: the courthouse, a stone building 3 stories high, is seen on the right; the Lutheran church and the academy in the distance.



Southeast view in the central part of Schoharie.

"In the year 1709, a number of families from the Palatinates in Germany, induced by the liberal offers made by Queen Anne, embarked for New York, and having proceeded up the Hudson as far as Albany, landed, and selected a few of their number to choose a place for a settlement. Of these, some went to Schenectady, and thence up the Mohawk, where a settlement of Germans had been formed a few years previous: the others, hearing of a beautiful country to the southwest, penetrated the wilderness in that direction; and after travelling through a hilly, and in some parts mountainous country, arrived the second day on the height of land east of the Schoharie creek.

"Here a scene of extraordinary beauty, and to them entirely new, burst upon their sight. At their feet, and far below them, was a plain of limited extent, embosomed by hills, in some places rising abruptly to the height of 1000 feet, and in others of more gentle ascent, and broken by deep ravines. The declivity of the hills was covered with a stinted growth of oak, too scanty to hide even from a distant view the rocks amid which they grew, and forming a striking contrast with the stately forest and luxuriant vegetation of the plain below. The valley had been partially cleared, and the alternate spots of woodland and meadow, interspersed with clumps of trees, added variety and richness to the landscape. Along its western boundary ran the Schoharie creek, now washing the base of the hill, now meandering through the flats; its course marked through the woodlands by the deep green of the trees along its bank, and through the meadows by the elms that lined its borders; sometimes its course was hidden from the view by the thick foliage, and again, as its channel spread out wider, or its course inclined to the east, its clear waters were seen glittering in the sunbeams. No traces of any occupants of this valley were seen, except here and there the ruins of a deserted wigwam.

"The travellers returned to Albany, and gave so flattering an account of the country which they had visited, that the whole company started immediately for Schoharie, without waiting for the return of their friends from the Mohawk. The place they chose for a settlement had formerly been occupied by a part of the Mohawk tribe of Indians; but they had most of them now left it. The settlers were illy provided with implements of husbandry, and with many of the necessaries of life, which wants were severely felt during many years. Whether they paid the Mohawks an equivalent for the land, tradition does not inform us. It was not, however, until several years after, that they obtained a grant from government. A commission was sent to grant them a title in the name of the crown, and to extend to them the protection of the laws. Believing this to be a pretence for exacting taxes from them, and remembering their former oppression, they drove off the commissioners, and refused to accept his proposals. A part left the settlement, and went up the Mohawk, and the remainder were finally prevailed upon by threats and persuasion to accept the terms offered by the government agent."—*Annals of Tryon county.*

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* "One of them," says Col. Stone, in his Life of Brant, "an interesting young woman, whose name yet lives in story among her own mountains, perceiving, as she thought, symptoms of fear in a soldier who had been ordered to a well without the works, and within range of the enemy's fire, for water, snatched the bucket from his hands, and ran forth for it herself. Without changing color, or giving the slightest evidence of fear, she drew and brought bucket after bucket to the thirsty soldiers, and providentially escaped without in-

The following extracts are from a pamphlet publication by Mr. John M. Brown, entitled "A brief sketch of the first settlement of the county of Schoharie by the Germans," published in 1823.

"Schoharie was first inhabited by a French Indian prisoner, married to a Mohawk squaw. His name was Karigondonte, whose father-in-law sent him there, for fear that the Mohawk Indians would kill him when they got drunk, and gave him land, as the Mohawk bore a great enmity to the French. Other Indians, Mohawk, Mohegan, Discarora, Delaware, and Oneidas, flocked to him, so that he increased to a nation about 300 strong, and established chiefs among them; who then pretended to be the owners of all that vast territory of land, and granted conveyances thereof.

"Queen Anne having intended to settle America, sent her agent to purchase land from the natives; for which purpose she sent messengers to Germany, to invite people to come over and settle, and promised that they should have the land they possessed, free. In consequence whereof, many came over; and a purchase was made, beginning near little Schoharie creek, at high-water mark of the big Schoharie river, and at an oak stump, burned out hollow by the Indians to serve for stamping their corn; where a stone heap was erected which stands to this day. The Indian seal of a turtle and a snake was cut on the stump, (here I must digress a little, and mention that the said stump or stamp block, served the Germans for their first grist-mill,) from thence down to the north, including all the low land on both sides of the creek, for the space of about eight miles, containing 20,000 acres.

". . . . Now being safe arrived, in the first week after three children were born, namely, Johanes Earhart, Wilhelmus Bouck, and Elizabeth Lawyer; they found the land good, and much of the flats clear. The Indians, who were all the people they found, having shifted, they went to work and planted corn, which they got of the natives; and in working the ground with their broad hoes, they found a potatoe-like root, which they called earth-acorns: also another, they called earth-beans, which they cooked or roasted, and so served them for food.

"In the fall of 1713, Lambert Sternbergh carried a spint of wheat along the Indian foot-path from Schenectady to Schoharie; there sowed or rather planted it over more than an acre of ground, which grew well; and the next year he reaped and threshed it, and measured 83 skipple out of it. This was the first wheat ever raised in Schoharie; and by about 40 years after, it was reckoned that one year in another, they carried 36,000 skipple, [27,000 bushels,] to Albany.

"Now the new inhabitants soon began to think themselves well off. By their industry, and great fertility of the soil, they soon got plenty to eat—wore moggisins, buckskin breeches and jackets of leather, which they plentifully obtained of the Indians. Nine of them owned the first horse, which was a gray. But now a new and very great difficulty was felt: they had no grist-mills, no teams, no horses, no roads fit for passage, but Indian foot-paths. They stamped, and also peeled their corn by help of lye, and then cooked it to eat. Their wheat they carried to Schenectady to grind, a space of 19 miles, every man about a skipple to his load: sometimes there would go 20 in a drove, often men and women together. This they had to do for 3 or four years, until a grist-mill was built by one William Fox.

"By now, the people began to think themselves very well off, having plenty to eat, began to have stock—used horses—made their own block sleighs for use at home, and wooden shod sleighs to go to Albany; but knew of no britsh collars, (which were an invention of Schenectady;) made a trip to Albany—back again in 5 days. Their wagons for summer use, were made of blocks sawed off, of a thick water beech tree, which we now call button-wood."

The following is an eastern view of the old stone church situated about a mile north of the courthouse in Schoharie, which was used as a fort during the revolutionary war. The view is taken from a painting executed about 17 years since, and now in the possession of Henry Hamilton, Esq., of Schoharie. Since that time the church has been somewhat altered, a tower having been erected in the place of the spire. It is very antiquated in its appearance. On many of the stones are carved various names, supposed to be those of persons who contributed towards its erection. In ancient times this church was surrounded with a picket fence. When Sir John Johnson ravaged the Mohawk valley in 1780, he visited Schoharie, and after making an unsuccessful attack on the Middle Fort, he proceeded to the Lower Fort, as this church was called.

"When they arrived at the Lower Fort, they showed little disposition to attack it, although its garrison did not amount to 100 men. They separated into two divisions, the regular troops marching along the bank of the creek, and the Indians filing off about half a mile to the east of the fort. The regulars fired a few cannon-shot without effect, one only lodging in the corner of the church;* and then, after sinking one of their field-pieces in a morass, marched round to the north of the fort, where they were joined by the Indians. Here they fired a few shot with small-arms, and a few of the Indians approached near enough to throw their bullets into the tower of the church, where some marksmen had been stationed. A discharge of grape from the fort drove them back, and they continued their march through the woods to Fort Hunter, on the Mohawk, near the mouth of Schoharie creek, where they arrived after dark.

"The beautiful valley of Schoharie creek presented a scene of devastation, on the night of the 17th of October, not easily described. Houses, barns, and numerous stacks of hay and grain, were consumed; domestic animals lay dead everywhere over the fields; a few buildings belonging to the royalists had been spared, but the militia, sallying out, set fire to them in revenge. After the burning of Schoharie, this settlement ceased to be so much an object of tory vengeance: and during the years 1781 and 1782, though there were frequent alarms, little damage was done by the enemy. The Indians appeared once in considerable numbers at Cobbleskill, burned a few buildings, killed one man, and carried off five prisoners; but the body of the inhabitants had taken refuge in a fort which they had built on their return from Schoharie in 1781, and were safe."—*Annals of Tryon County.*

Esperance, 8 miles N. of Schoharie courthouse, is a village of about 70 dwellings. Sloansville, Gallupville, and Smithville, are small villages or settlements in this town.

Seward was formed from the south part of Sharon in 1840; centrally distant from Schoharie NW. 20 miles. Pop. 2,086. Gardnersville and Hynesville are the names of the post-offices. In July, 1781, a battle was fought in this town between the Americans and a body of the enemy, principally Indians, under the command of a tory by the name of John Doxtader.

"Col. Willet, who now commanded at Fort Plain, in July sent Lieut. Gros, with 36 men, as a secret scout, into Durlagh, now the town of Sharon, [within the limits of the new town of Seward,] in Schoharie county. They discovered, near the borders of that settlement, an Indian trail, and followed it in the direction the Indians had gone. The scout fell in file alongside of the path made by the Indians, and by this means ascertained that the force of the enemy was very considerable. Three men were sent on to make further discoveries. After pursuing the trail a short distance, they arrived upon the borders of a thick cedar swamp, 5 or 6 miles NE. of Cherry Valley; here they found the camp of the enemy, in which a few sentinels only were stationed. The main body of the enemy were out on some expedition. One of the men stole up and took a blanket from beneath a tent, without being discovered. Having made the necessary observations, they followed the remainder of the scout back to Fort Plain. It was almost night when the scout arrived, but Col. Willet added 70 men, and ordered an immediate march. They were joined by Major Robert McKean, with about 30 men, making their force 150. McKean informed Col. Willet that the enemy were about 300 strong, principally Indians, under the command of a tory, by the name of John Doxtader—and that the day previous they had destroyed Currytown, a small settlement near the Mohawk, a short distance above Schenectady. The night was very dark, and there was no road, nothing but a path through the woods. About daylight they came in sight of the camp. A scout sent forward reported that the enemy had just returned. Col. Willet drew up his men in two parallel lines, and then ordered them to fall back and conceal themselves behind the trees. His plan was favored by the thick cedar swamp in the neighborhood of the enemy's camp. Major McKean with 50 men occupied the right, and Col. Willet commanded the left body, composed of his 100 men. Two men were then sent forward to pass over a piece of open ground in sight of the enemy. When discovered they were directed to lead in between the two lines. The expectations of Col. Willet were realized; the Indians, as soon as they saw these men, raised their war-cry and commenced an immediate pursuit. As they followed in, the troops of Major McKean opened a galling and destructive fire upon them, which was warmly seconded by Col. Willet's men on the left. The Indians were beaten at their own game; they sought shelter behind the trees, but were driven back and routed at the point of the bayonet. Col. Willet led the van, and waving his hat, cheered on his men. The camp of the enemy and all their plunder was taken. They retreated down towards the Susquehannah, and were pursued with considerable loss. Shortly after the first fire, Major McKean received two severe wounds, but he continued his command until the rout of the enemy was complete. His faithful soldiers carried him back to Fort Plain, where he survived but a day or two. The victory was dearly won by the loss of this brave and hardy chieftain."—*Annals of Tryon County.*

Sharon, taken from Schoharie in 1797; from Albany 40 miles. Pop. 2,520. Sharon, 20 NW., and Leesville 24 miles from Schoharie, are small villages.

Summit, taken from Cobelskill and Jefferson in 1819; from Albany 52 miles. This township comprises the highest mountains in the county, forming part of the water shed between the Susquehannah and Mohawk rivers. Summit Corners, 20 SW., and Charlotteville, 25 miles from Schoharie, are small settlements. Pop. 2,009.

(5) The reader might be interested to know that Miller's Roster of ✓ Butler's Rangers contains 810 names - officers, NCOs and men - of anyone whoever served in that Corps at any time for however long. Halfyard's Victualling Lists contain only 396 names - with some duplicated. File 7 of this volume, dated 1796/97 (15 Oct 1797), contains 679 names of "certified" Loyalists. This transcription has only 324 entries. It is the variation in the total numbers that is interesting and perplexing - specially when one considers the lowest (324) to the highest (810). When this list dated 25 Nov 1784 - 25 June 1785 is compared to the PL dated as early as 25 Dec 1784 - 25 Sep 1785, one can easily deduce that some families were still re-forming as a number of single, unaccompanied men quickly acquired sizable families in very short order. It is equally obvious that some people moved away and others arrived between 1784 and 1797.

(6) The PLs are recorded below by Number (on the list), date of that section of the lists and the location.

NUMBERS	DATES	LOCATION
✓ 1 - 132	14 Dec 1786	Niagara - Murray's District ✓ John White'
133 - 197	14 Nov 1786	Niagara - Mr. Burches District
198 - 260	14 "gber" 1786	Niagara - Mr. Tenbrooeck's District
261 - 307	25 Dec 1784 to 24 Sep 1785	Fort Erie
308 - 372	25 Sep 1785 to 24 Dec 1786	Fort Erie
373 - 396	undated	Landing Grand River and the Chipaway Creek

(7) An index is provided. Footnotes are indicated by the "f" supra, usually with a number but sometimes in the body of the text. The "Index Number" column is for a future master index of the entire PAC Volume.

Transcribed by &
Revised Nov 1985

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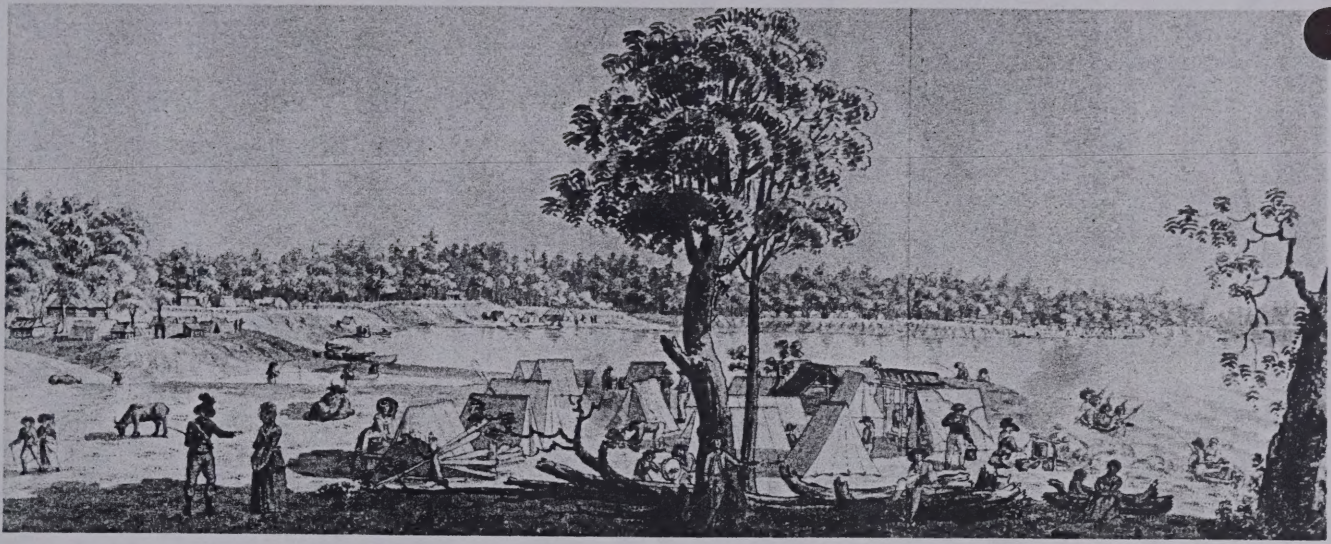
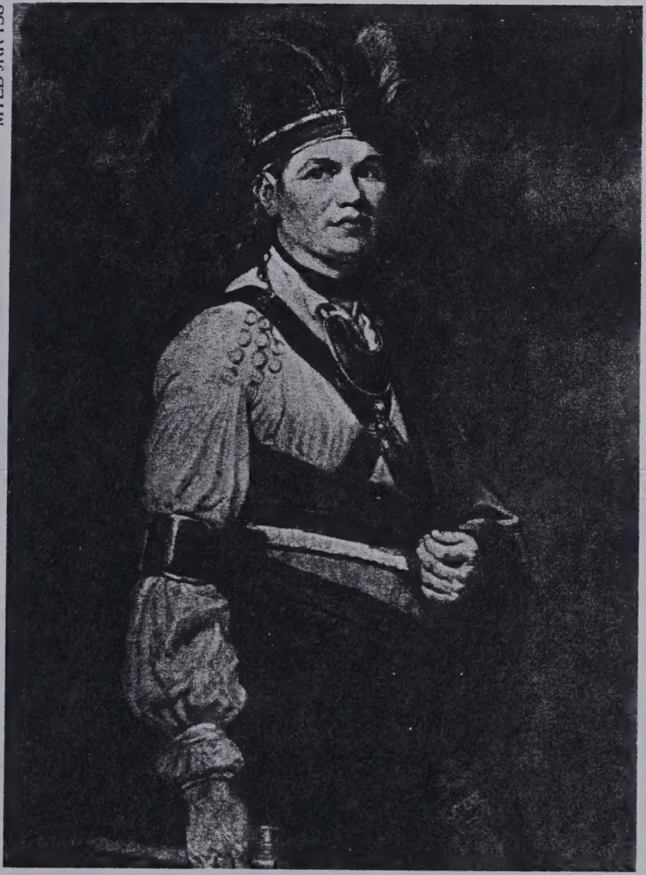


PAC C-2001

Encampment of Loyalists at Johnston, on the St. Lawrence, 6 June, 1784, by James Peachey. Watercolour.



MTLB JRR-158

Joseph Brant, Six Nations leader. Mezzotint.

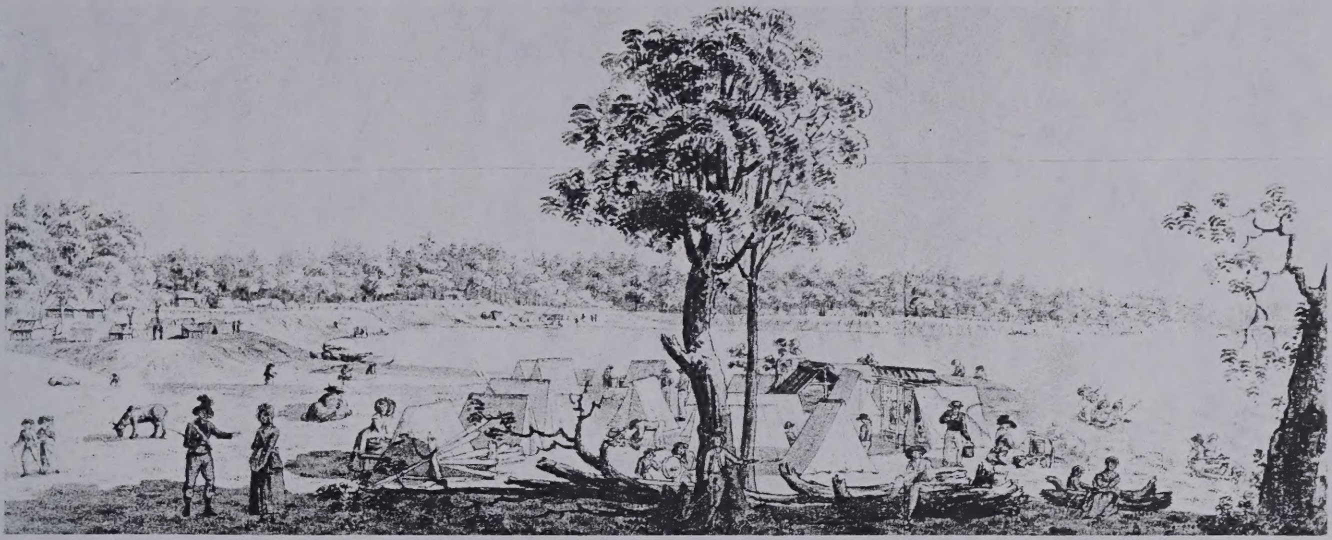
A Pictorial History of Ontario - Roger Hall & Gordon Dodds

R971.3 H178 (1978)

The Loyalists

The Loyalists were the first Europeans to settle permanently in large numbers in Ontario. They came in the aftermath of the American Revolutionary War which ended in 1783. Historians argue about the size of the influx, but most agree it was between five and six thousand. The Loyalists settled along the northern banks of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, in the area of present-day Kingston and Prince Edward County, and also in Niagara. They should not be considered docile conservatives; many had led the opposition to British policy in the Thirteen Colonies before it entered its violent stage. Their hardships were real, but as refugees they were given many advantages by the British government and were comparatively well treated.

Frequently forgotten Loyalists are the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy who had fought on the British side during the revolt; the fate of their lands, indeed their own fate, was not even discussed in the treaty. However, they were awarded a great tract in the Grand River valley "six miles deep from each side of [the river] beginning at Lake Erie and extending in that proportion to [its] head." This fine area eventually was chipped away by encroachments and hasty sales. Joseph Brant of the Mohawks, the Iroquois leader, was a most capable businessman and skillful negotiator who succeeded for a time in driving hard bargains for the Indian land. The Durham Report (1838) indicated that about one-third of the original Indian reserves in the entire colony was left to the Native peoples. Originally, the British had purchased the Grand River valley from the Mississaugas before making the grant to the Six Nations.



PAC C-2001

Encampment of Loyalists at Johnston, on the St. Lawrence; 6 June, 1784, by James Peachey. Watercolour.

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Barney White was in Illinois

BX8248B8H9 by Sanford Hunt (1893
NY

charge. He was an active, earnest, and successful pastor, and the membership was more than doubled in a few months. Under his devoted labors Methodism in the city began to show its aggressive power. Its numbers had steadily remained for twelve years not far from 80, but he reported at the close of his year 287. In a letter to "The Christian Advocate," under date of February 7, 1831, he writes:

"Methodism in this, as in many other places, was at first warmly opposed; and, but for the divine blessing on the patience, zeal, and perseverance of her evangelists and patrons, would have been kept to this day in the background. The spirit of opposition—from those from whom we might expect things which accompany salvation—to the ministers and members, the doctrine and discipline of our Church, caused no little difficulty in the way of planting Methodism in this place. They were crowded out of the courthouse by other appointments, though they used every precaution to avoid interfering with other worshiping assemblies, hoping, as no denomination had ever fixed on that as a place of worship, they might here enjoy the privilege of worshiping God in peace."

Rev. Wilbur Hoag, who next appears on the list of pastors, remained only one year. He is remembered by those who knew him as a man of beautiful, systematical character. He had been in the Conference only six years, and yet he had won a high position in the esteem of his brethren. At the end of the year he was sent out as a traveling agent for the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, a position of great

by 1830; ~~this~~ ~~[illegible]~~ indicates Methodists in Buffalo were busy before he left

importance at that time to the Church and the Conference. It was evident to the Conference, however, that the work of the itinerancy would prove too severe for his delicate constitution. He attended the session of the Conference for the last time in 1839, at Elmira, and was secretary of that body. He died during the year, in the thirty-second year of his age. His widow will be remembered by many Lima students who made her house their home.

1832 The year 1832 is made memorable by two important events. Buffalo received its first charter as a city during this year, and the Asiatic cholera, that most terrible epidemic, swept through the city. While, as in other cities, the lower classes living in the tenement houses and in filthy portions suffered the most, yet the disease swept away large numbers of those who occupied the first positions in society. Several hundred persons were reported to have died from this scourge during the year.

Rev. Jonas Dodge, who followed Mr. Hoag, was pastor in 1832–33, and returned again in 1835, after an absence of only one year, for a third year, in order that he might complete the church building, with which he had been identified from the first. The membership had increased during the time the building was in progress. Dr. Hibbard says of him: "Jonas Dodge, a champion of progress and reform, in his earlier years a leading platform speaker, ready to go (as we have personally known) in his buggy, in the worst seasons of travel, eighty miles to attend a meeting of the trustees of the Genesee

Orin Barney White was in Batavia & LC in 1830

and retreated to Oswego. Brant and a few Mohawks passed through the valley, however, and fought their way to Burgoyne. But here, too, the Indians with the main British force were discouraged by the failure of Burgoyne to win a quick victory and by the restraints the British commander imposed on them.[11]

Burgoyne had used the 500 Indian warriors with his army for their psychological effect on the frontier settlers, and initially his bombastic threats to let loose the braves against the Whigs were effective. Panic-stricken, many settlers hastened to the British camp, and hundreds of others fled from the Vermont Grants. A seemingly minor occurrence, however, nullified Burgoyne's tactics and aroused the fury of the frontier population. A small party of Indians escorting Jane McCrae, fiancée of a Tory officer, senselessly killed the girl. Horrified, Burgoyne reiterated his orders that the braves abstain from indiscriminate warfare. This lost him the support of the bulk of the warriors who deserted early in August. The Whigs made good use of the incident, spreading the story throughout the New York and New England frontiers. Far from his base and short of supplies, Burgoyne dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Baum with 500 heavily laden German infantry, some Tories, and a few Indians to capture provisions purportedly collected by the Whigs at Bennington. A few miles short of his objective Baum allowed parties of Americans who claimed to be Loyalists to join his force. After they had infiltrated, these Americans enveloped and harassed the flanks of the British force when John Stark and a vastly superior force of Whig militia attacked on August 16. The defeat of Baum and a column sent to his rescue sealed Burgoyne's fate. He recrossed the Hudson in September and slowly retreated. Surrounded near Saratoga and unable to break through the American ring, he surrendered on October 17.[12] Thus ended the only attempt by the British to conquer the northern frontier.

Despite this setback the British and their Indian allies still held advanced bases in western New York and along Lake Champlain from which they were able to harass the frontier, raiding almost at will and leaving death and destruction in their wake. Out of Niagara and Unadilla the Tory leaders, John and Walter Butler, William Caldwell, and Barent Frey, led Indians and Loyalists burning for revenge over the indignities heaped on their families by the Whigs. The struggle on the Mohawk and Susquehanna became a war of savage, unsparing retaliation. British raiding parties initially struck almost with impunity. Operating from Crown Point, 500 men under John Fraser in the fall of 1778 scoured the vicinity of Skenesborough, along both sides of Lake Champlain and some forty miles up Otter Creek, destroying grain, livestock, and houses.

1778/9

Along the Mohawk and Susquehanna the storm broke in May. A British force routed 300 Schoharie militiamen and burned Springfield; in June they destroyed Andrustown near German Flats. Early in July John Butler with a force of 1100 men, including 700 Indians who were mostly Seneca led by Old King, delivered the most telling blow in the Wyoming District. Defending the eight American forts and blockhouses were a militia regiment and a company of Continentals under the inept Zebulon Butler and Nathan Dennison. Forts Jenkins and Wintermoot surrendered promptly, but the defenders at Fort Wyoming were lured out and ambushed. In a savage battle, the merciless Indians gave no quarter to their armed opponents and killed almost 300 Whigs. The remaining settlers in Fort Wyoming surrendered. There was no massacre of unarmed men, women, or children at Wyoming, but the terrified survivors who fled the valley in the "great runaway" told a different story, one of horror and atrocities. So great was the panic that even Sunbury was abandoned, and the roads to the south and east were thick with settlers fleeing for their lives.[13] Some semblance of order was restored when General Lachlan McIntosh sent more than 300 troops under Colonel Daniel Brodhead to the Susquehanna, and Zebulon Butler with 100 men reoccupied Wyoming in August.

Reinforcements were also sent to the New York frontier when Colonel Peter R. Livingston after a tour of the Mohawk Valley reported that Schoharie, Cherry Valley, Fort Dayton, Stone Arabia, and Johnstown would be deserted unless an adequate force of Continentals was stationed in the region. In an effort to destroy the Indian and Tory bases, Colonel William Butler in October 1778 led 500 men of the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment on a sweeping raid along the upper Susquehanna. They burned the Indian village of Oquaga, destroyed 4000 bushels of corn and a great number of livestock and poultry, and according to the Indians, ravaged and killed the young wife of an Oneida chief. The enraged warriors took their revenge on November 11 when 800 Indians and Tories led by Walter Butler attacked 350 Continentals and 150 militiamen stationed at Cherry Valley, a major supply depot. Despite repeated warnings of the impending onslaught the inept American commanders were unprepared. During the attack on the garrison the uncontrolled Indians massacred over thirty men, women, and children in retaliation for the raids on Unadilla and Oquaga during the previous months. Up to that time there had been no reports by the Americans of atrocities against women and children. In the retreat Walter Butler was able to rescue some of the survivors; he released them under strong guard and sent away most of the Indians in disgrace. Haldimand at Quebec was shocked by the outrage and repeated his

County court, the sheriff and a posse of fifty men surrounded the building. In the ensuing riot, two men were killed and eight injured. This enraged the settlers from the nearby towns and a few of the Allen followers from west of the mountains. Yet the Green Mountain Boys, for their part, had been guilty of "far more man-handling and property damage to New York adherents than can be traced to any enforcement activity by the New York authorities."[12]

The settlers themselves were divided in sentiment; most were willing to remain under New York jurisdiction provided their lands were confirmed to them at low prices; some in the towns on the Connecticut River wished to be annexed to New Hampshire; and a few favored separate political status. Viewed realistically, however, the struggle in the Grants during the early years of settlement was basically between two groups of speculators. The conflict set the stage for the civil war between Loyalists and Patriots during the Revolution and for a potential separatist movement to join with the British in Canada. Moreover, the Vermont dispute was to help shape partisan politics in the Continental Congress after 1775.

Utilizing the confusion of overlapping colonial boundaries, land speculators fomented disorder to establish their land titles elsewhere on the northern frontier. But the violence marking the early settlement in Vermont and the Pennsylvania back country was lacking on the New York frontier where the jurisdiction of the Empire colony was exclusive and complete, and the landed magnates had clear and almost absolute pre-emption of the best land. Under their aegis the long dormant New York frontier was expanded.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the back settlements had not extended much above Albany on the Hudson and the lower Mohawk and its tributary, Schoharie Creek. For years the French and the hostile Indians to the north and the powerful Iroquois immediately to the west had prevented further expansion. However, the great landed families had already covered the central portion of the colony with patents and awaited only the removal of the French and Indian menace. With the capture of Quebec and Ticonderoga in 1759 soldiers and officers rushed to the lands around Lake George and Fort Edward, and approximately forty thousand acres near the southern end of Lake Champlain were granted to Robert Harpur to accommodate nearly one hundred Protestant families from Ireland. William Gilliland, Philip Skene, and William Beekman also received substantial grants for settlers. The removal of the French stimulated expansion west along the Mohawk and its tributaries to the headwaters of the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers.

The greatest boon, however, was the success of Sir William Johnson and the speculators associated with him in negotiating the boundary

Johnson sees the Irish
& Highlanders

at Fort Stanwix in 1768 that cleared the area between the Mohawk and the Pennsylvania line of Iroquois title. In the following months speculators took out patents for lands along the upper Susquehanna and Delaware rivers and the Tianaherha, or Unadilla, River on the west. Lake Otsego with Cherry Valley just to the south lay roughly in the center of this region. In developing the area the speculators surveyed, subdivided, and sold the lands to different proprietors. Very few lots were conveyed by the original patentees to actual settlers. Johnson himself set up several hundred Highlanders as tenants on his own estate at Johnstown. John Harper, an "honest Yorkshireman," and a distant relative of John Wetherhead, Johnson's business agent, came with his family and in 1771 founded Harpersfield.

When Albany County was divided in 1772, Tryon County with Johnson's estate as the seat of government was created to administer the western frontier region. About ten thousand whites resided within its boundaries by the outbreak of the Revolution. The Germans in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys and the Scots-Irish on the upper Susquehanna and upper Delaware were predominant among the frontier settlers in central New York.[13] When the extension of the Indian boundary in 1768 opened new areas for legal settlement, some frontier families along the Mohawk migrated south and west to the expanding frontier of Pennsylvania where land could be obtained on better terms from the proprietary government than in New York.

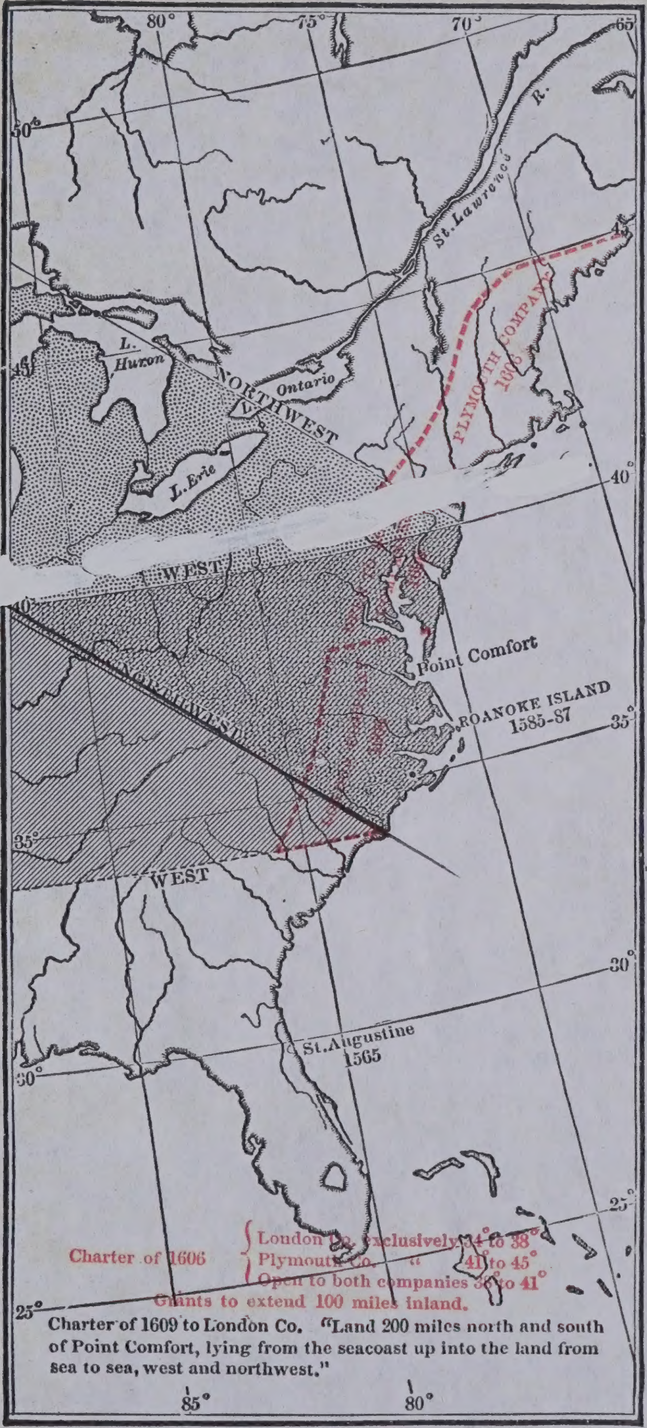
1768

The Pennsylvania frontier had begun to receive an overflow of settlers from the northern provinces even before the boundary negotiations of 1768 had cleared the way. Immediately after the French and Indian War the Susquehanna Company of Connecticut sent pioneers to the Wyoming Valley, a region contested with the Yankees by both Pennsylvania and the Delaware Indians. Following a massacre during Pontiac's Uprising of 1763 the valley lay unoccupied until the Treaty of Fort Stanwix cleared the Forks of the Susquehanna of Indian title, and the Susquehanna Company undertook a massive migration. Money was appropriated for supplies, and provision was made for five towns to be laid out, each five miles square, along the banks of the north branch of the Susquehanna. These "gratuity towns" were to be awarded to the initial 240 settlers sent out in the spring of 1769. Following the New England tradition, three lots in each town were reserved for schools and ministers.

Gilliland

Connecut

The decision of the Susquehanna Company to occupy the disputed land touched off a frontier war between the Yankees and Pennites. Both sides relied on outside support: Pennsylvania brought in Amos Ogden, John Jennings, Charles Stewart, and their followers from nearby New Jersey; the Yankees enlisted the aid of Lazarus Stewart and the "Paxton


80°
75°
70°
65°
50°
45°
40°
35°
30°
25°
85°
80°
St. Lawrence R.
L. Huron
Ontario
L. Erie
NORTHWEST
WEST
NORTHWEST
WEST
PLYMOUTH COMPANY 1606
Point Comfort
ROANOKE ISLAND 1585-87
St. Augustine 1565

Charter of 1606 {London Co. exclusively 34° to 38°; Plymouth Co. " 41° to 45°; Open to both companies 38° to 41°}
Grants to extend 100 miles inland.

Charter of 1609 to London Co. "Land 200 miles north and south of Point Comfort, lying from the seacoast up into the land from sea to sea, west and northwest."

THE VIRGINIA GRANTS OF 1606 AND 1609

consequently, though England claimed all North America by virtue of Cabot's discovery of 1497, James limited the territory of his grant so as not to encroach on the Spanish settlements of Florida or on the French interests about the St. Lawrence. One group of "loving subjects," called the London Company, was to have exclusive right to settle between 34° and 38° of north latitude (see map); the other group, the Plymouth Company, was granted the equally broad region between 41° and 45°. The neutral belt from 38° to 41° was left open to both companies, with the proviso that neither should make any settlement within one hundred miles of the other. The grants extended one hundred miles inland. The powers of government bestowed on the new companies were as complicated as the grants of territory. The companies were to have a council of thirteen in England, appointed by the king and subject

TABLE OF ARTICLED SALES IN P FOR 1801

	Purchasers Names Col. 1	Date of Articles and Contracts 2	No. of Articles 3	No. of Lots 4	No. of Section 5	No. of Township 6	No. of Range 7	Quantity of Acres 8	Price of Acre 9	Amount of Purchase Money 10	Amount of Advance paid in Cash 11	Amount of Advance paid in Labour 12	Amount of Advance unpaid for which promissory Notes are given 13	Residue of the Purchase Money or Deferred Payments 14
									D.C.	D.C.	D.C.	D.C.	D.C.	D.C.
Art. 1	Garret Davis	1799 Sep. 16	1	13	5	13	2	150.—	2.—	300.—	10.—	——	——	290.—
" 2	Frederick Walther	Octo. 1	2	6	2	12	1	150.—	2.—	300.—	1.—	——	——	299.—
" 3	Peter Lewis	1801 Feb. 20	3	6	8	12	2	137.8	2.75	378.95	16.—	22.—	——	340.95
" 4	Aaron White	March 5	4	10	5	13	2	121.2	2.50	303.—	——	15.—	——	288.—
" 5	Peter Rice	March 11	5	9, 13 & Part of 10	5 8	13 12	2	162.—	2.68	435.—	——	38.—	——	397.—
" 6	Isaac Sutherland	April 1	6	4	7	12	2	166.5	2.40	400.—	46.—	154.—	——	200.—
" 7	Daniel Curtis	April 2	7	2	8	12	1	120.4	2.75	331.10	18.02½	——	15.07½	298.—
" 8	William Blackmon	April 6	8	3	8	12	1	126.2	2.75	347.05	——	34.70	——	312.35
" 9	Hiram Blackmon	April 6	9	4	8	12	1	109.4	2.75	300.85	17.—	——	13.—	270.85
" 10	William Munger	April 6	10	7	8	12	1	132.1	2.75	363.27	——	36.—	——	327.27
" 11	William Rumsey	April 11	11	7	4	12	1	90.5	2.75	248.87	22.—	——	——	226.87
" 12	William Rumsey	April 11	12	8	4	12	1	147.—	2.60	382.20	38.—	——	——	344.20
" 13	Eliezer Caulking	April 17	13	1	8	12	1	116.8	2.75	321.20	32.12	——	——	289.08
" 13	Abel Rowe	April 20	14	13		Batavia		40.—	5.—	200.—	20.—	——	——	180.—
" 14	Nathaniel Walker	May 11	15	1 and 2	2	12	1	163.9	2.75	450.72	40.—	——	——	410.72
" 15	Peter Lewis	May 25	16	4, Part of 3	8	12	2	185.3	2.66	493.25	19.40	29.60	——	444.25
" 16	William Rumsey	June 1	17	9	4	12	1	97.—	2.75	266.75	26.75	——	——	240.—
	Abel Rowe	July 4	18	12		Batavia		40.—	5.—	200.—	20.—	——	——	180.—
" 17	Asahel Murray	July 14	19	14	5	13	2	145.5	2.50	363.75	12.85	5.15	——	345.75
" 18	John Forsyth	Octo. 12	20	14	8	12	2	128.4	2.50	321.—	——	——	16.—	305.—
" 19	Isaac Sutherland	Nov. 16	21	2, and Part of 1	7 8	12	2	181.—	2.75	497.75	——	49.77	——	447.98
					Total			2711.—		7204.71	339.14½	384.22	44.07½	6437.27

started to copy the map for P (at Madison) & forgot. This Aaron White not likely the 1798 Adolphus town fence viewer, is he?

REPORT OF JOSEPH ELLICOTT
FOR THE YEAR
1802

Batavia January 1st 1803

Paul Busti Esquire
Philadelphia.

My dear Sir,

The period of one year having elapsed Since my last Report which gave you an Account of the Situation and Progress of the Holland Company's Concerns in this Quarter until that Period, it now becomes my Duty to State the Situation and Progress of their Concerns from that Period until this Date. And in Order to enable myself to exhibit the several Objects of Administration that have been attended to, completed and partially completed, I know of not any Mode that is so familiar and easy to myself as the Plan of my last Report, that is by arranging the various Objects of Administration mentioned in my Instructions under different Heads, and then reporting on each respectively. And for this Purpose permit me to recapitulate the most material Heads of Administration, after which I shall detail how far each has been effected, and in the Conclusion make some general Observations, the Result of Experience in the Administration etc.

1st The Subdivision of the two Settlements M E O, P E Q.
2d Conditions of Sale.
3d Roads.
4th Grist and Saw Mill.
5th The Establishment of Blacksmiths.
6th Store.
7th Sales.
8th The Erection of the Court House and Gaol.

See Over

Get pages before this — where is .. [illegible] [illegible] cath — but what I copied is father at the Genesee Co,

T. 15, R. 5.
Daniel Brown,
John Palmeter.

T. 9, R. 6.
Joel Adams,
John Adams,
Daniel Hascall,
James Merriam,
Henry Godfrey,
Nathaniel Walker,
Walter Paine,
Reuben Hall,
Epaphroditus Nott,
Nathaniel Emerson,
Joseph Sears,
Humphrey Smith,
Peter Wells.

T. 11, R. 6.
Joseph Halks,
Silas Pierce,
Peter Pratt,
David Hamlin,
John Truman,
James Woodward,
Warren Hull,
Joseph Parmelee,
Matthew Wing,
Lawson Egberton,

T, 12, R. 6.
David Bailey,
Gideon Royce,
Riley Munger.
David Hamlin,
Daniel Robinson
Gardner Spooner,
Peter Pratt,
David Bailey, Jr.
Isaac Vanorman,

T. 14, R. 6.
Charles Wilber,
Isaac Clark,

T. 15, R. 6.
Jedediah Riggs,
Joshua Slayton,

T. 8, R. 7.
Noah Smith,
Jesse Norton,

T. 9, R. 7.
Paul Sturdevant,

T. 9, R, 7.
Colton Fletcher, H. L. Co's. Surveyor.
Ezekiel Smith,
Amos Colrin,
David Eddy,

T. 11, R. 7.
William Maltby,

T, 12, R. 7.
Joel Chamberlin,
John Wisner,
✓Harry White,
Abijah Hewett,
Abiel Gardner,
Jacob B. Vanatter,
Elisha Cox,
Samuel McConnell,
Joseph Draper,
Caleb Rogers,
Stephen Colvin,
Zebulon Ackley,
Isaac Underwood,

T. 14, R. 7.
John Forsyth,

T. 9, R. 8.
Joel Harvey,
Denniston Foster,
William C. Dudley
Nathaniel Titus.

T. 11, R. 8.
Joseph Hewitt,
Ira Allen,
John Starkey,
Samuel Joy,
Daniel Chapin,
John C. Staley,
John Farr,
Peter Getty,
Amasa T. Grant,
Edmund Raymond,
Joseph N. Rood,
Ezra Whipple,
John Aiken,
Rowland Cotton,
Nathan Perry,
Asa Chapman,
Christian Staley.

T. 14, R. 8.
Joseph Howell,
Joash Taylor.

T. 13, R. 9.
Nicholas Whittinger.

T. 14, R. 9.
George Armisted,
Erasmus Enos,
James Powers,
Robert Moore,
Hugh Hewitt,
Amasa Stoughton,
Samuel Stoughton,
James Pue,
Benjamin Pomeroy,
Philip Beach,
Elias Rose,
Daniel Totten,
Henry Totten,
Parley Wallace,
Josiah Benjamin,
Joseph Taylor,
Asahel Taylor,
Asahel Sage.

T. 15, R. 9.
Ephraim Hopkins,
Samuel Hopkins,
Peter Hopkins,
John Freeman,
John Wilson.

T. 6, R. 11.
Zenas Barker,
Francis Webber,
Hasadiah Stebbins,
William Webber,
Alanson Holmes,
Abner Holmes.

T. 2, R. 12.
William Bemus.

T. 6, R. 12.
Thomas McClintock,
Low Munnagan,
Benjamin Barrett,
Zatter Cushing.

T. 5, R. 13.
James Dunn.

T. 3, R. 15.
Alexander Cochrane,
Thomas Robinson.

1805.

BATAVIA VILLAGE.
William Ewing.

BUFFALO.
Cyrenus Chapin,
Thomas Sidwell,
Nathaniel W. Seaver,
Isaac Rhoads,
Samuel Tupper.

T. 5, R. 1.
Loring Francis.

T. 7, R. 1.
Peter Granger,
Isaac Granger,
Eli Griffith,
Philip Fuller.

T. 8, R. 1.
William Bristol,
Benjamin Morse,
Elnathan George,
James Cravath.

T. 9, R. 1.
Nehemiah Fargo,
Josiah Boardman,

(1805)

T. 9, R. 1.
Daniel Bates,
Hezekiah Wakefield,
Giles Parker,
Lott Merchant.

T. 10, R. 1.
Elihu Hall,
James Hall,
David Tyrrill,
Israel M. Dewey,
George Harper,
✓William White, ✓
Ward Davis,
Marshall Davis,
Samuel Bartlett,
James Ward,
Ephraim Cleveland,
Zira Dunbar,
Dudley Nichols,
David Morgan,
Walter Underwood,
Joel Strong,
✓John White, ✓
Abraham Thomas,
Humphrey Gardner,
Edmund Curtis,
Robert Wilson.

T. 11, R. 1.
Phineas Smith,
Harvey Prindle,
Cyrenus Glass,
William Williams,
David Anderson,
Solomon Lathrop,
Jonathan Bixby,
Jason Bixby,
Ezekiel Fox,
Philo Whitcomb,
John Greenough,
Gersham Orvis,
Heman Brown,
Nathaniel Brown,
Peter Putnam,
Patrick Alvord,
Alford Rose,
Richard Stiles,
John Chambers,
Thomas Halsted,
John Boynton,
Eli Perry,
Abel Buell,
Joseph Bartlett,
David Morgan,
Asher Lamberton,
Israel Buell,
William Bannister,
Amasa Robbins,
Jesse Cowdry,
Isaac Wilson,
Josiah Southard,
John Grimes.

T. 12, R. 1.
Asa Webster,
James Heacocks,
Oliver Sweatwell,
Asa Osborn,
Hiel Chapman,
Abel McKain,
Nathan Graham,
Joseph Bentley.

T. 13, R. 1.
Hiram Smith,
Col. Samuel Hall,
Horace Carr,
Benjamin Chase,
Elisha Kellogg,
Dudley Sawyer,
Samuel Cumings,
Nathan Miner,
Silas Torry,
Edmund Burgess.

T. 9, R. 2.
Seth Sherman, Jr.
Lemuel Chase,
Seth Sherwood,
Adiel Sherwood,
Eebenezer Tyrrill,
James Coates,
Samuel Wilson,
Enos Smith,
John Wilcox,
James Duncan,
Gideon Sly,
Noah Willis,
Elisha Doty,
John Grover.

T. 10, R. 2.
Lemuel Whaley,
Zadock Whipple,
Nehemiah Osborn,
Joseph Munger,
John Kean,
Francis Rogers,
Joel Bradner,
Dan Adams,
Elihu Beckwith,
Elijah Rice,
Joseph Hopkins,
David Beckwith,
Benjamin Moulton,
Simeon Porter,
Luther Stanhope,
Stephen Crawford,
Orator Holcomb,
Benjamin Nelson,
Nathaniel Eastman,
Samuel Smith,
Nancy Wood,
Thomas Whaley,
Patrick Alvord,
Levi Stanhope,
Joseph Munger,
John M. Coffin,

T. 10, R. 2.
Eliphalet Hodges,
Benjamin Powers,
Clark Burlingame.

T. 11, R. 2.
John M'Cormick,
Levi Harris,
William Prout,
Asa Buckley,
Ezra Blodgett,
Noah Brooks,
Asa Frost,
Nathaniel Eastman,
Thomas Lee,
Daniel Rawson,
David Rowland,
Elisha Fox,
Seth Landon,
Stephen Day,
Abijah Warren,
Samuel Reed,
Daniel Davis,
Manna Chase,
Amos Adams,
Joseph Gladden,
Joseph Cady,
John Olney,
Gurdon Williams,
Jonas Marsh,
Charles C. Jackson,
Elisha Sutton,
William Burton,
William King,
Isaac King,
Samual Benedict.

T. 12, R. 2.
Timothy Washburn,
Thomas Godfrey,
Reuben W. Wilder,
Rufus M'Cracken,
Azor Nash,
Lemuel L. Clark,
Joel Tyrrell,
Hugh Duffy,
James Henry,
Richard Godfrey,
John Algur,
John Herring,
Jonathan Wood,
Reuben Lamberton,
Amos Lamberton,
Paul Hill,
Silas Dibble, Jr.

T. 16, R. 2.
Paul Brown,
Job Johnson,
Ephraim Waldo,
David Miller,
Thaddeus Moore.

T. 10, R 3.
Peter Putnam,
William Adams,

/ Dought The
John + William White
who bought ~~the~~ land
here in 1805; it is
possible

① Mary Griffith / James Short to KY then TN

(James Short's Bible) as of 10 Dec 1819

Mary Griffith (born 18 Jan 1779 / d 15 Oct 1844) married James Short ca 1800

her dau ~~Mary~~ Mahala Short b. 12 May 1802 married 16 Apr ~~1822~~ 1821 Geo W. Lee (b. 15 ~~70~~ 1797 / d 27 Dec 1870)

Sarah Short b. 14 Sep 1828 m ——— Stacey

Was Mary Griffith a daughter of James Griffith SR?

Surry Co

②

G.G. Grandson
Fred E[illegible]
of Salem VA

(5th child)
Goodwin Taylor
b 29 May 1806
Brunswick Co VA
m. 30 Sep 1829
Surry Co VA
d. /
Nebraska

12 children
2 b dead

Wm Taylor
(17__ to 11 June 1813
Brunswick Co VA
d ~~[illegible]~~ aug 1812
m. 16 Apr 1798
Susanna Singleton
b. Brunswick Co VA
to 1818
~~d~~ Surry Co VA
d. there
15 ~~Feb~~ 1829

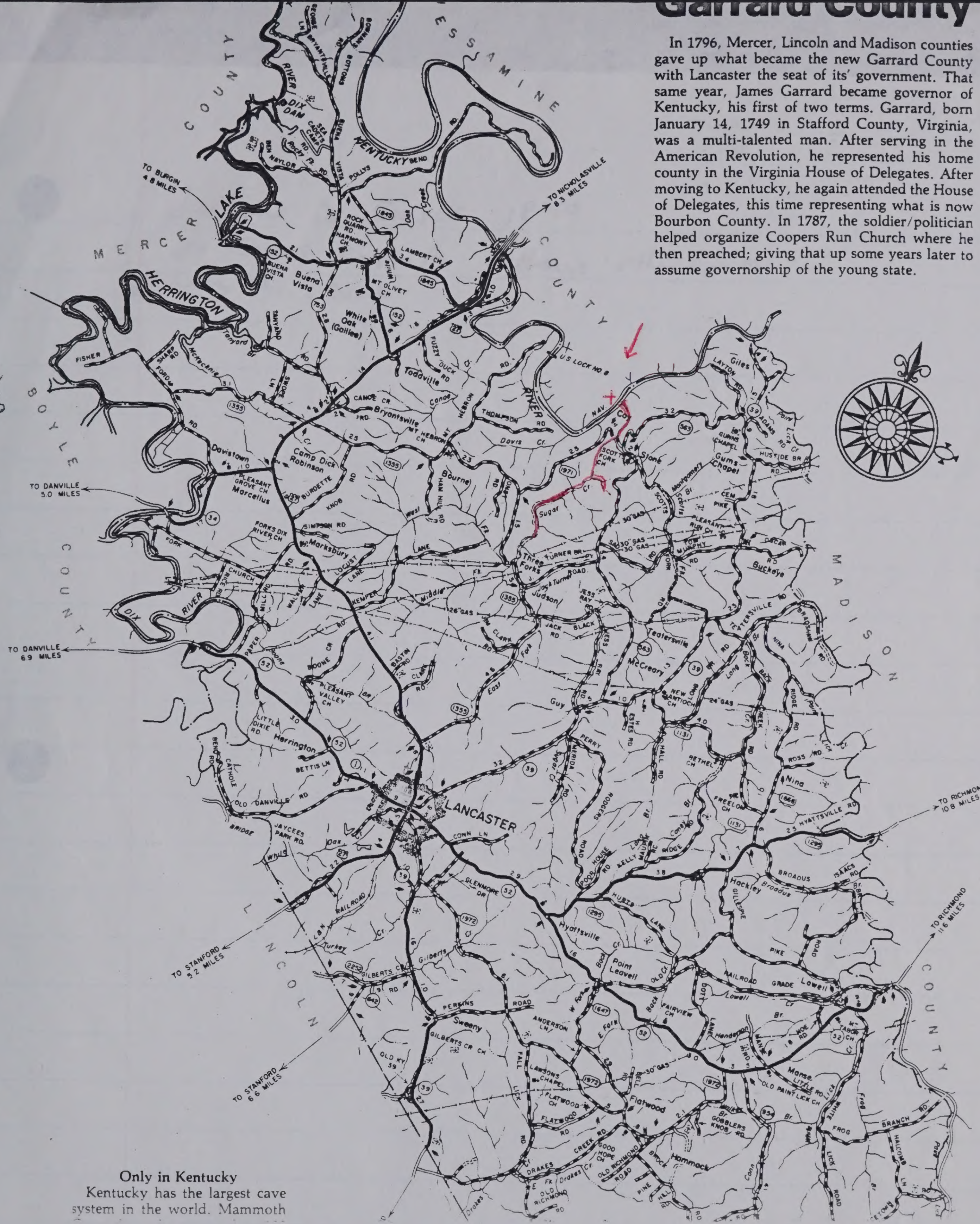
Jane Griffith

Surry Co VA
d before 1879
(Nebraska?)

Benjamin
or
~~James~~ Edward
} Griffith
of Surry Co NC

Garrard County

In 1796, Mercer, Lincoln and Madison counties gave up what became the new Garrard County with Lancaster the seat of its' government. That same year, James Garrard became governor of Kentucky, his first of two terms. Garrard, born January 14, 1749 in Stafford County, Virginia, was a multi-talented man. After serving in the American Revolution, he represented his home county in the Virginia House of Delegates. After moving to Kentucky, he again attended the House of Delegates, this time representing what is now Bourbon County. In 1787, the soldier/politician helped organize Coopers Run Church where he then preached; giving up that some years later to assume governorship of the young state.



JESSAMINE COUNTY
MERCER COUNTY
BOYLE COUNTY
LINCOLN COUNTY
MADISON COUNTY
HERRINGTON LAKE
DIX RIVER
DIX DAM
KENTUCKY RIVER
US LOCK NO 8
TO BURGIN 4.8 MILES
TO NICHOLASVILLE 8.3 MILES
TO DANVILLE 5.0 MILES
TO DANVILLE 6.9 MILES
TO STANFORD 5.2 MILES
TO STANFORD 6.6 MILES
TO RICHMOND 10.8 MILES
TO RICHMOND 11.6 MILES
LANCASTER
Buena Vista
White Oak (Galilee)
Toddville
Bryantsville
Camp Dick Robinson
Davistown
Marcellus
Marksbury
Bourne
Three Forks
Judson
Stone
Gums Chapel
Buckeye
Teatersville
McCreary
Guy
Herrington
Nina
Hackley
Hyattsville
Point Leavell
Lowell
Sweeny
Flatwood
Hammock
Manse

Only in Kentucky

Kentucky has the largest cave system in the world. Mammoth

Jackson Co Census 1840
No Samuel Griffith though other kin are
Lacy Rays, Dick

Averill

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINERS' JOURNAL GALENA, ILLINOIS

Issue of August 21, 1830 List of Letters at Gratiot's Grove

E. Brigham
Page Blake
Hiram Bowman
Thomas Carland
John Douglass
Hiram Eads
Samuel Evans
A. Floyd
Dr. Allen Hill
Esaw Johnson
Ezra Lamb

Roland S. Louis
A.R.T. Locey
Clem Morrison
Anthony McKee
James Morrison
Solomon Olivar
Henry Redman
James Scott
John Shirman
William M. Stuart
H. Taylor
William Wallace

J.B. GRATIOT, P.M.
Gratiot's Grove Aug 8, 1830

Issue of October 2, 1830 List of Letters at Galena

John D. Ansley
Daniel C. Allen
John Ankeney
George W. Ames
✓ Henry I.C. Averhill
Matthew Alexander
J.B. Allonroth.

Willis Rowmer
William Barker
J. Blackmore
Page Blake
William T. Bush
Sylvester Brigham
Charles Bracken
John Brown
James Billings
Charles Baur
Joseph Bean
Simon Bertromd
Jesse Berry
Henry Bearpark
E. Brigham
Samuel Burks
William Bowmer
Ames Brown
Charles Becket
Michael Brown
Thomas Burton
Joshua Brown
E. Babbit Lt. U.S.A.
John P. Blakely
Aaron Boyce

William Craig
Nathan Chandler
William Cundiff
Thomas Carroll
Samuel D. Carpenter
Ralph Carver
Samuel Cole
Hiram Currant

Nathaniel Chandler
Lewis Curtin
Osborn Chanly
W. Cummings
William Collians
James Craig
Jordan P. Cockrun
Joseph Clegg
H. Cavaner
Adam Collins
John T. Coates
Elijah Charles
H.R. Golter Esq.
Tyrus M. Childs
Robert Culbertson

Barney Dignan
Richard S. Davis
John Dempsey
Peter Duncan
William Durles
William Devine
Nicholas Dowling
Benjamin Duncan
Jesse Dearum
John H. Doyle ? is this Diel
N.F. Dean
John Denning
Nathan Dudley
Allen Donoho
Archibald Drummond
Antoine Delore
Margaret Dean
William Dunebar
Monsieure
Detandebars
Thomas Dram
✓ Gen. H. Dodge
Enoch Duncan
David W. Dolets
James B. Dallam
James Durley

Jarrard Ewing
John R. Ewing
George Force
Frederick Fultz
Thomas W. Floyd
Asa Fitch
Thomas Ford Esq.
Michael Finnelly
Peter Fitzgerald
John Foly Esq.

Stephen W. Gear
A.W.W. Gordon
Thomas Gardner
Frederick Gross
Archibald George
Henry Gratiot
Lemuel W. Gilliam
John Gronnoly

A.F. Hubbard Esq.
John M. Henderson
James Hawthorn
Sidney Dilley Hunt
Stephen Holmes
Nancy J. Harlan
John or Alexander Hood
Apollos Hubbard
Vincent G. Hurles
Thomas Hecklin
John Hudson
Relit Hoard
Isaac Hide
Gustavus A. Hamlin

John N. Johnson
Joshua Jones
William Jemison

Francis W. Kirkpatrick
David Kurker
James Kindle

"Iowa County Heritage" Vols 3-4 F5PT I6 F5

Ab--- Nik--
Andrew McManus
Alexander Simpson

Irwin Ogin
Elijah Smith
Albert G. Smith
Jacob Montplassion--
Cyrus Mackey
✓ John W. Griffith
Elijah Wentworth Jr.
Jesse Hidroth
John Patterson
Joseph Enoe *
John Ellis
John Fitzgerrel
Henry Diawy
Robert R. Siles
David Siles
Joseph McDonald
Ahab Bean
Isaac Swan
Milton M. Maughoz
John M Igan
William Simpson
John M-l--- *
David M. Robinson.
John M. Barnett

Benjamin F. Rechman
Thomas Henitt
James Scott
Francis Farand
Almond Cottle
W.H. Hopkins
H.K. Cletter
Elihu Ferrell
George M. Egnew
B. James
Valentine Hinden
Abner Coll-
Osborne Bollans
David Lancaster
Daniel L. Parker
Hugh H--ard
Edwin F. Townsend
James Raulon
Barthomet Tobin W. Wheelright
Thomas W. Thompson
Warner Lewis
L.D. Seelhorst
H.H. Gear
Joshua Chambers
Thomas Harrison
Alexander Kanisey
John Richard-o-
Henry Nichols
Jonathon Craig
Emmanuel Medcalf

Nathaniel W. Morris
James M. Link
Conrod Leak
William W. Johnson

Th McKnight
Andrew E Williams
S.B. Opdycke
Edward Kelly
Chauncey Durkee
~~Hezeriah-B~~--ty
Geo. Monahan
George Johnson
John Hott
Dudley Simmons
Eseriah Braundy *
John Armstrong
Samuel Stebbins
~~John-Messersmith -Snr~~
~~John-Messersmith-Jr~~
~~John-Smith~~
~~Henry-Messersmith~~
~~George-Messersmith~~
~~William-Messersmith~~
Samuel Burks May 16, 1827
John Messersmith
William Wadams
Robert Sawther
Amborse Ashborough
John Taylor
Jesse Tusck
Nelson A. Lurton
Leonard Goss
William Nash
Theodore Sargent
Washington Smith
R.H. Champion
Edwin Clayton
George Ripley

? ✓ John B. Griffith
Alfred - Stefens
Isaac Webb
Patrick Clary
William Komish
George W. Anderson
R.B. Powell

Pierre J. Menard
Ab. Caswell
Louis Dyer *
Nelson Bind
William Burnett
Hugh W. Shamon
John - Mattly
Edmond Grun --
James Chaffin
Hans Alexander *
Strother Inman

Joseph Payme
John Foley
James Combs
Benjamin Richardson
Daniel Shannon
Abbott F. Swan
Addison Philler
Auret Marston
B----- Squiers
Elijah Mallerson
Thomas Gray
G. Chapin
Samuel D. Slater

Jamy Beaty
Cah--s Day
Hardin Newlin
J.W.C. Zott
William Oates
John Thomas
Henery Finer
F. Dickson
Elijah McManon
Calvin A. Woodburn
G--s C. Shattuck
Jesse Williams
Hugh Montgomery
T.K. H--------
Rinnah Wells
Robert Megol Irick
Gar-- Ralston
George Madina
Squire Bozorth
-- -eph Brad-y *
Jacob Gribs
Hardin Haigess *
Collier Powell H.
William Hempstead
John S. Miller

John Woo-
Greenup Hays
William Hays
Frederick Hollmon
John Sew----
John Delaney
Stephen Simmons
Mossey Kuck------
A.G. Boone
Ira Cottlin
Francis Kirk
Jesse Sutton
Hiram Arthur
Thomas Camelin
William Strawbridge
-osh-- J. Murphy
Neul Walker
John Stoddard

(Note: It appears permission to mine given to those on p3 & part of p4 given June 1826 to first group, and to the additional
[illegible])

CANVASS OF BALLOTS

We present here a record which locates the people named as residing in the areas for which they are listed. These Lists were contributed by Mrs. Arthur Mastin, Columbiaville, N.Y. in response to the Article, "How about being a contributor" in the December 1969 TREE TALKS. These Records are from the Ledger of Ballots, 1799-1800 on file in the Columbia County Clerks' office in the City of Hudson, N.Y.

****

Canvass of Ballots for Member of Assembly from Kinderhook for the year 1800, March 27, 1797.

NAME	NO. VOTES	NAME	NO. VOTES
GARDINIER, Derick	231	BIRD, John	2
WILLIAMS, Elisha	209	VAN ALSTYNE, Peter	6
GILBERT, Ezekiel	215	ROGERS, John	1
DOUGLASS, Asa	219	BALDEN, Samuel	1
CANTINE, Wm.	226	TANNER, Capt.	1
LIVINGSTON, John	207	FORD, Jacob	1
LIVINGSTON, Robert	38	BROADHEAD, Thomas	1
VAN ALSTYNE, Peter	99	JOHNSON, John	1
FROTHINGHAM, Thomas	93	THOMPSON, Wm.	1
HAMILTON, Patrick	94	O'BRIEN, Samuel	1
TEN BROECK, Samuel	89	FRISBEE, Phillip	1
TANNER, William	79	VAN VALKENBERGH, Bartholomew	1

Canvass of Ballots for Members of Assembly from Claverack - 10th April 1799 to 2 May 1799.

HOGEBOOM, Killian	192	MC KINSTRY, Charles	87
JENKINS, Elisha	181	LIVINGSTON, Robert L.	93
HOFFMAN, Philip L.	180	FONDA, Lawrence	32
TANNER, William	183	VOSBURGH, Peter I.	5
VAN NESS, John	182	VAN ALEN, John L.	4
WARNER, Jonathan	175	DANNERT, William	2
VAN RENSSELAER, Jacob	96	BORCHAM, Squire	2
NOYES, John	95	VAN ALEN, Jr., John L.	2
GILBERT, Ezekiel	94	VOSBURGH, Peter	2
PRATT, Anson	89	FONDA, Lawrence L.	1

We the subscribers, inspectors of the said poll do hereby certify the above to be a true statement of the canvass:

HOGEBOOM, John C.
MESICK, Peter
MESICK, John I.
WILLIAMS, Thomas
MULLER, Peter

VOSBURGH, Abraham I.
MOUE, Jacob
ENDERSON, Jacob
BONESTAIE ?, David
VAN RENSSELAER, Robert, Clk.

[illegible]
Andrew Mathews
[illegible]
Cyrus Ramsey
John M[illegible]
Elijah Wentworth Jr.
Jesse Hedreth
John Patterson
Joseph Rose Jr.
John Riker
John [illegible]
Henry [illegible]
Robert [illegible]
David Riley
Joseph [illegible]
Isaac [illegible]
William [illegible]
John [illegible]
William [illegible]
David H. Robinson
[illegible]
Benjamin [illegible]
[illegible]
Francis [illegible]
Abram [illegible]
W.R. [illegible]
H.S. [illegible]
[illegible]
Abner Gall-
[illegible]
David Lancaster
Daniel L. Parker
[illegible]
Edwin V. [illegible]
James [illegible]
[illegible]
Thomas [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
C.N. Geer
Joseph Chambers
Thomas Harrison
Alexander Kennedy
John Richardson
Henry Nichols
Jonathan Craig
Emmanuel Metcalf

[illegible]
Edward Kelly
[illegible]
Geo. Newman
George [illegible]
John [illegible]
[illegible]
John Armstrong
Samuel [illegible]
[illegible]
John Davis
[illegible]
Samuel [illegible]
John [illegible]
William [illegible]
[illegible]
John Taylor
[illegible]
Leonard [illegible]
William [illegible]
[illegible]
Edwin Clayton
George Ripley
John E. Griffith
[illegible]
Isaac [illegible]
Patrick [illegible]
William [illegible]
George W. Anderson
A.B. Powell
Pierre A. [illegible]
Ab. Cornell
[illegible]
William Burnett
Hugh W. [illegible]
John [illegible]
Edward [illegible]
Abram Griffin
Hans Alexander
Strother [illegible]

Joseph Payne
[illegible]
B---- Somers
Thomas Gray, 1771
O. Chapin
Samuel S. [illegible]
[illegible]
Jesse Williams
T.E. B--------
[illegible]
John [illegible]
William Hays
John [illegible]
John [illegible]
Norman [illegible]
A.G. Reed
Ira Collins
Francis Kirk
Jonas Hutton
Hiram Arthur
Thomas Gamblin
William Strawbridge
John J. Murphy
Basil Baines
John Stoddard

Also see Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans*

Chapter VII
pp 191- 201

Loyalists in the Amer. Rev.
(1969)

and smaller book -

Walter W Arnold *Niagara Falls*

90 pages including index but full of
wonderful

These 2 books on my shelves

Use pg 84

ROBERT BOTHWELL

A
Short History
OF
Ontario

Hurtig Publishers Ltd.
EDMONTON

1944 (MPL 971.3 B749)

garrisoned them with troops. Along the lakes and rivers new names appeared, though usually on what is now the American side of the border: Fort Niagara (1720), Fort Detroit (1701), and Fort Michilimackinac, which had started off as a mission and only later became a focus for trade. The English (now the British, because of changes in their constitution at home) responded by building Fort Oswego at the southeast corner of Lake Ontario, opposite Fort Frontenac. The French completed their encirclement of the British colonies in 1718 by founding the city of New Orleans in their new colony of Louisiana.

Between the British and French posts there were usually hundreds of miles of trackless wilderness. In the early wars of the eighteenth century (1702–13 and 1744–48) few soldiers ventured to cross this space, but this reluctance disappeared in the Seven Years' War (1756–63), which finally put an end to France's North American empire. By then, British settlements were pressing up against the Appalachians. Land speculators hungered to cross the mountains, and when the French resisted British claims on French-occupied territory, hostilities broke out. War in fact started in North America before it began in Europe, and when it did the British were determined to break the French lines of communications on the river-and-lake route that linked Quebec with New Orleans. The Great Lake region lay squarely athwart their path.

At first the British were unsuccessful. The French defeated an attempt to take Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) in 1755. In 1756 the French military commander, the marquis de Montcalm, brought a small army up the St Lawrence and captured the British Fort Oswego. Further frontier fighting in 1757 left the French firmly on the offensive. In 1758 the balance shifted. The British, enjoying virtual command of the sea, and drawing on a large pool of reinforcements and supplies, went over to the attack. On the Atlantic coast the fortress of Louisbourg fell. A new attack on Fort Duquesne succeeded. The most unexpected blow fell on Fort Frontenac.

Colonel John Bradstreet, Nova Scotia-raised but a regular British officer, led a collection of American provincial troops from the Mohawk valley across to Lake Ontario. Bradstreet had some 3000 men, including a few warriors from the Six Nations (they had been six since the addition of the Tuscarora). The defending French had 110 men, and the issue was not long in doubt. Although the French had the benefit of a stone fort, the British had artillery as well as numbers, and on August 27, 1758, Fort Frontenac surrendered. With it went one of the main French transshipment points, seven ships, and a great booty of furs and other stores.

The British did not stay at Fort Frontenac, but the next year they came again, this time heading for Fort Niagara, at the mouth of the Niagara River. Once again the British forces moved up the Mohawk valley, but this time they moved through the heart of the Iroquois country and about 1000 warriors accompanied the British army, which was commanded by General John Prideaux and the British superintendent of Indian affairs, Sir William Johnson. Fort Niagara was a large fort and a strong one, and its commander was determined to resist. It took a regular siege and a futile attempt at relief by a French force to bring about surrender, on July 26, 1759.

There followed the siege and capture of Quebec in September. The French still held out in Montreal, and a British army descended the St Lawrence from Lake Ontario in 1760. In August the last French stronghold on the St Lawrence surrendered and in September, Montreal capitulated. The French forts in the distant interior followed suit, and the war was over in North America.

The war had followed the pattern of the French forts that protected communications and the fur trade. Most of the actual fighting was done outside the boundaries of present-day Ontario, but the consequences for the Great Lakes country were tremendous. The Great Lakes passed from one empire to another. They passed as a whole, so that the old French lines of communications remained intact and nearly unaltered. It was now, of course, possible to reach that line overland from the Atlantic seaboard rather than pass through Montreal, and that is precisely what thousands of settlers began to do, far to the south.

Flooding over the mountains, American settlers came into contact with the native peoples of the interior. The British government, mindful of the explosiveness of the situation, which had been brought home by a rebellion of the tribes of the northwest under Pontiac in 1763, tried to contain and, if possible, halt the colonists' expansion. The interior became an imperial concern, ruled by British rather than colonial officials, and regulated by a series of garrisons in the old French forts of Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac.

Questions of Indian policy came under Sir William Johnson, whose headquarters were at Johnstown on the Mohawk River, in Iroquois country. Johnson had a powerful influence over the Iroquois, and as political troubles mounted in the British seaboard colonies the superintendent strove to keep the Iroquois well-disposed to the king and suspicious of the land-hungry colonists. The Iroquois formed a buffer between the British garrisons and lines of communication in the interior and the troublesome colonies; they were intermediaries, as well, between the British-occupied territories and the interior tribes in the upper lakes and Ohio regions.

Dissension in the colonies centred in Massachusetts and its capital, Boston. Colonial politicians demanded a progressively greater measure of autonomy from British jurisdiction during the 1760s and 1770s. ''Patriotic'' Americans believed that the British government was plotting to take away their liberties and property, with the result that by 1774 Massachusetts had become virtually ungovernable. A series of parliamentary enactments endeavoured to provide for the government of the colony as well as the punishment of unruly Boston, but their effect was to inflame rather than intimidate opinion, not only in Massachusetts but in other colonies as well.

In the middle of the quarrel with Massachusetts the British government decided to regularize the administration of some of

its newly acquired territory in North America. By the Quebec Act of 1774 the British Parliament settled the frontiers of the province of Quebec, formerly New France. These were extended to include the whole Great Lakes basin and stretched as far west as the Mississippi River and as far south as the Ohio. What would later become Ontario was now included, as a matter of convenience, in Quebec. Quebec, unlike other colonies, would have no elected assembly; Catholics would be tolerated, and admitted to office, an unheard-of act in a fiercely Protestant country; and the civil law of Quebec would be the law of the old French regime in New France. Government was entrusted to a governor in Quebec City, Sir Guy Carleton.

There was still not enough settlement in Ontario to justify locating civil officials in the area north of the lakes; the administration, such as it was, lay in the hands of the commanders of the British forts, and at Detroit, where there was sufficient population left over from the French regime to support a resident magistrate.

Events were, however, beginning to overtake Ontario. In July 1774 Sir William Johnson died. In September delegates of most of the American colonies met in a continental congress in Philadelphia to organize opposition to British measures. During the winter opposition was transmuted gradually into resistance, culminating in pitched battle between British regulars and American rebels at Lexington and Concord on April 18, 1775. The British were besieged in Boston, while up and down the Atlantic seaboard rebel governments were set up in the colonies. Those who supported the crown, ''Tories'' according to the rebels, ''Loyalists'' according to themselves, fled to the protection of British garrisons or ships, or subsided into uneasy, intimidated silence when they could not flee.

In the fall of 1775 the rebels invaded the province of Quebec and in November took Montreal. The posts on the lakes were cut off from Governor Carleton, who barely managed to hang on at Quebec City in the face of a rebel army. The French Canadians, whose loyalty Carleton thought he had purchased through the

Just this page

concessions of the Quebec Act, held back, favouring, for the most part, neither one side nor the other. Fortunately for the British, rash generalship, lack of supplies, and the severe winter decimated the besieging Americans. When spring came, the Royal Navy came too, and Quebec was saved. The American army ran for the border, and communication with the west was restored.

The west still counted as a strategic asset for the British. Using the Great Lakes, the British could encircle the revolted colonies. Using the Iroquois and the western Indians, the British could terrorize the frontier and drain American resources, both military and financial. And, using the Great Lakes as a base, it might be possible to support a larger plan to reconquer America. Neither the Iroquois nor the other Indian nations were enthusiastic about the role that British strategy had devised for them, but support was not entirely lacking. Certain Iroquois, such as the Mohawk war chief Joseph Brant, placed their whole trust in the crown. Believing that a nation as rich and powerful as Great Britain could not fail, they willingly backed what they believed would be the winning side, and they gradually involved others in support of the king.

Frontier warfare depended on stealth and mobility. To no small degree it also depended on terror, inspired by a hundred years of tales (many true) of Indian atrocities. This time the Indians were joined by increasing numbers of Loyalists, driven from their homes and property by rebel mobs. Now they were driven by revenge to return and mete out to their former neighbours what had been meted out to them. At first the Loyalists, and their Iroquois allies, believed that they would return as part of a conquering army sent by the king to discipline his unruly subjects. That dream vanished when a dual invasion, up the Richelieu and down the Mohawk, was turned back at Oriskany and defeated at Saratoga. The invaders at Saratoga surrendered and a whole British army and its general passed into captivity. What had been a short and certain war became a long and doubtful one.

The Americans had declared their independence in 1776. A few months after Saratoga, in February 1778, the new United States signed an alliance with its old enemy France. Around the Great Lakes worried British commanders looked askance at their French neighbours. They worried even more about the possibility of an American invasion, and in their anxiety handed out thousands of pounds worth of gifts to the Indians of the interior. Many Indians were already on the move along the frontier, burning and killing in concert with the Loyalists and the few British regular troops who could be spared, or who could survive the arduous trip across the wilderness to the nearest American settlements.

At Fort Niagara John Butler, one of Sir William Johnson's assistants, organized his own corps, known as Butler's Rangers, to harass the rebels. At Montreal Sir John Johnson, Sir William's only legitimate son, raised a regiment, generally called Johnson's Greens from the colour of their uniform. Joseph Brant had his own following, mostly white men; but recognition was slow in coming to Brant, and he could feed but not pay his soldiers. Moving sometimes independently, sometimes in combination, these frontier forces ranged up and down the Alleghany mountains of Pennsylvania and New York, driving off the local militia and burning settlements. Sometimes matters got out of hand, as at Wyoming valley, Pennsylvania, in July 1778, or at Cherry valley, New York, four months later. Men, women, and children, Loyalists or rebels, were indiscriminately slain. Those who survived faced starvation or flight, since there was nothing left to live on.

The refugees descended on Schenectady or Albany to become a burden on the rebel governments, which had to feed them at great cost from diminishing resources. Terror, however, was a double-edged weapon, as the Americans determined to prove. In the summer of 1779 a punitive expedition under General John Sullivan set out to punish Britain's principal Indian allies, the Iroquois. The expedition, from the American point of view, was a complete success; from that of the Iroquois it was a disaster. Iroquois villages were burnt and crops destroyed. Unable to resist the force the Americans brought to bear, the Iroquois fled westward, across the Genesee, until they came to a halt under the ramparts of Fort Niagara. There they became the immediate clients of the British government, utterly dependent on what the British could dole out by way of food, blankets, and shelter.

Sullivan's expedition did not end the war along the frontier. Colonel John Butler and his Rangers, Colonel Sir John Johnson and his Greens, and Captain Joseph Brant and his irregulars continued to roam and strike where they wished. The bitterest warfare, in which attacks on civilians were a principal tactic, continued until July 1782. The Americans suffered great loss. Many farms were burnt, families disrupted, people killed. These losses, though severe, could be replaced on the American side. Those on the British and Iroquois side could not. Politically, the Iroquois confederacy was disrupted by the war. Some Iroquois, principally the Oneidas, sympathized with the Americans. Others, the majority, joined with the British, and suffered for it. The society of the Iroquois was broken and with it their military power. The end of hostilities meant the disappearance of the Indian barrier between the Great Lakes and the American frontier, and the end of the possibility that the Indian nations by themselves, or in alliance with the French and then later the British, could keep white settlement at bay.

By the time war ceased along the frontier, it was all but over elsewhere in the world. The British government came to terms with its enemies, old and new, and at Versailles in 1783 signed a peace treaty with the United States. The United States became independent. Its frontier would run up the middle of the St Lawrence, and likewise through Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, and their connecting rivers. Further west the border became a trifle fanciful, since the limits of geographical knowledge were reached and surpassed by the peacemakers, but it would eventually approach the 49th parallel at the Lake of the Woods, and that would serve to bisect the rest of the continent.

1783

By the terms of the treaty the American Congress agreed that it would earnestly recommend to the individual states to do justice to those who had lost the war, the Loyalists. In theory Loyalists should recover their rights, including the right to sue for damages or lost property. Nothing was said about the Indians, and those Indians who had suffered as a result of the war had no legal right to recoup their losses as a result of the peace.

There was in fact less difference between the Loyalists and the Indians than these terms suggest. Congress had no power to compel the states to do its bidding, and the terms that affected the Loyalists promptly became a dead letter. Loyalists who returned home were encouraged to leave. One Loyalist, for example, was met by a midnight reception committee, tied to a tree and whipped; as the whipping proceeded his tormentors reminded him of the atrocities he was supposed to have committed during the war; surviving the beating, he left the next morning.

Thousands of Americans had supported the king. Many had supported him in arms, and in the process communities split, families quarrelled, and old allegiances fell apart. As the war proceeded, many Loyalists concentrated where British troops could protect them, first at Boston and later at New York and Charleston, South Carolina. Others, closer to Quebec, made it to Fort Niagara or Montreal or the great refugee camp at Sorel, where the Richelieu flows into the St Lawrence. Of those who fled, some chose to go to the West Indies or Bermuda, where the British flag still waved. Others proceeded to England to pursue their careers and rebuild their lives and families. The largest group, however, looked northward. They would stay in North America, in a country they knew. They would remain under King George III. To such men and women, the Great Lakes region, unspoiled by war and still far from American guns, looked very tempting. That was where they would go.

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Upper Canada, 1784–1841

2

The American war left King George III a much shrunken domain in North America. On the Atlantic seaboard were the Maritimes: Nova Scotia, swollen with 28,000 Loyalist settlers; New Brunswick, newly created as a Loyalist province; Prince Edward Island, small, fertile, and isolated in the Gulf of St Lawrence; and Newfoundland, a fishing rather than a settling colony. There were also the vast and indefinite possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company around the great frozen inland ocean of Hudson Bay; and, finally, the province of Quebec, home to 130,000 French-speaking subjects and about 7000 English-speaking refugees. All these remaining North American possessions had their good points. All, except for Newfoundland, had pockets of fertility in valleys and alluvial plains. But only Quebec had fertile land in quantity, and with it the potential for growth. And land, with what grew upon it, was to be the centre of policy and politics for the next half century.

Land was British North America's greatest resource. It had the power to attract settlers and confer wealth, though not always in proportion to effort expended. Its forests sustained life by furnishing fuel and shelter and an immediate cash crop for those who could get wood to market. Land speculation was an avenue to wealth, and land hunger a lever to discontent. For governments, land meant revenue either indirect or direct: indirect from the settlers it enticed to British America and the wealth they produced; direct from land rents and sales. Land could be used instead of cash to endow the great engines of society—the churches, schools, and hospitals of the future.

The lower St Lawrence was already largely filled up, its best lands divided among seigneuries from Rivière-du-Loup to Longueuil, just west of Montreal. The best and biggest tracks of land lay to the west, in the region between the Great Lakes and the Ottawa River. It was an area almost as large as Pennsylvania, well-watered (though wetter and colder to the east and drier and warmer to the west) and easily accessible, once a few rapids and waterfalls were left out of account.

It was often described as empty, but the description was not quite accurate. To the north, as there had always been, there were the Algonkian tribes. To the south, besides the remnants of France's former Iroquoian allies, there were recently arrived Algonkian tribes, the Missisauga (the spelling varies, but this is the most common) and the Chippewa. The Missisauga, like most other tribes in the area, had come under the influence of the Iroquois and particularly under that of the active and able Joseph Brant. There were also a few white farmers, at Cataraqui, at Niagara, and across from Detroit, whose duty it was to supply the British garrisons at those places. To accommodate them, the British had bought the requisite tracts of land from the Missisauga. These farmers, however, did not own their land and had no choice of market for their produce. If asked, they might have said that their situation was better than nothing but far from what they desired.

What they desired, after it became obvious that they were never going to go back to their former homes in the United States, was to reproduce their former life in a new land. The British side of the Great Lakes was not unpromising or unappetizing. The forests along the northern side of Lake Erie resembled those they had left behind: and a hardwood forest promised fertile land and good crops, as they knew from experience back in New York and Pennsylvania. It was not difficult for Loyalist leaders to turn their eyes westward from Montreal and to covet the forests of western Quebec.

The British authorities were taken somewhat by surprise. In their plans the interior would continue as it had been, a refuge for Indian tribes and a barrier against the Americans. The emigrants they wished to export there were loyal, it was true, but they were the remnants of the Six Nations, huddling in camps under the guns of Fort Niagara. Land was purchased from the Missisaugas for this purpose, some around the Bay of Quinte (or Quinté, as it was called), and some along the Grand River about fifty miles west of Niagara. The Six Nations went to this land in two batches. The eastern branch, under Chief John Deseronto, refused to move along to the Grand River, which thereby became a field for the dominance of Joseph Brant. It was not Brant alone, as whites usually failed to recognize, who stood out among the Grand River Iroquois; Brant exercised his influence largely through his relatives and connections by marriage rather than in his own right.

Brant gave freely of Iroquois land to those whites who had served alongside him during the war; and he had no great objection to the arrival of other refugees who had suffered in the cause of the king. And so, in 1783, General Frederick Haldimand, the governor of Quebec, sent his surveyors to the west to delineate townships for settlement. They marked out lands along the front, by the shores of the main rivers and Great Lakes. As winter closed in a few Loyalists arrived to winter near the British posts on the king's rations; the next spring there would be many more.

There were, all told, 6000 Loyalists who came to settle in western Quebec in 1784. They were of two main kinds. Some were soldiers disbanded from Loyalist regiments, with their families. Some were civilian Loyalists who had followed the king's armies. They settled in three main clumps: the easternmost were just to the west of the last French seigneury, Longueuil, along the St Lawrence River; the next group chose the north shore of the Bay of Quinte, and the remainder the Niagara region. These groups, and their followers, totalled 10,000 by the end of the decade.

While the Loyalists increased in numbers, the Indian population of the Great Lakes region was declining. The Missisaugas, who sold off land along the lakefront to the British government, suffered from repeated epidemics which reduced their numbers, already small, to the point of insignificance. The Missisaugas may have sensed that they were outnumbered and that their way of life could not long be maintained. They had become highly dependent on British gifts and subsidies, and the income derived from the land sales was probably necessary as well as welcome to them. The sale of lakefront was completed in 1805, when the British bought out the area of Burlington Bay to what is now Etobicoke. Further sales in 1818 and 1819 moved the Missisaugas even further back from the lake; reservations in the Peterborough area would eventually receive the remnants of the tribe.

The effect of British-Indian interaction north of the lakes was, with rare exceptions, peaceful if not entirely happy. South of the lakes it was a different story. American troops clashed repeatedly with the tribes of the Ohio valley. These tribes in turn relied on the British for material aid and political advice. (Gifts to Indians south of the border did not cease until 1843.) The result was contradictory and unhappy. The Indians expected help that never came, in the form of military support; and the Americans suspected the Indians were getting help the British did not give. Events north and south of the lakes, in British and American territory, continued therefore to be closely linked, and the possibility of another great Indian war lurked in the minds of British soldiers and officials. If such a war came, and Britain and the United States came to blows, was it yet possible that the revolution could be reversed and the two countries reunited?

British long-term policy nevertheless had to take account of the reality of settlement, and the necessity of organizing the thousands of new settlers who had come to live in the province of

Quebec. Quebec was a predominantly French and overwhelmingly Catholic colony. Its laws were French, and its land tenure seigneurial. The British settlers along the lakes found the situation disquieting. They were not used to seigneurial dues and they wished for a familiar legal system. Starting in 1785 they asked for both English laws and land tenure and, by the end of the decade, the British government had decided, in principle, to give them what they wanted.

In London William Grenville, the secretary of state, determined to regulate the government of the king's remaining North American colonies so as to appease discontent and provide a reliable structure for the future. Grenville's solution, the Constitutional Act, passed through the British Parliament in the spring of 1791. It divided the old province of Quebec into two parts. The border would run along the Ottawa River until it reached the already settled seigneuries west of Montreal. It jogged along their western limit down to the St Lawrence. West of the line there would be English law and English land tenure in the new province of Upper Canada. To the east there would be both the French and English languages, French civil law, and seigneurial tenure. In both Upper and Lower Canada (as the two provinces were called) there would be an elected assembly, an appointed legislative council to serve as an upper house, and an executive council to assist the governor in his acts.

Generations of Canadian students have been bored and distracted by the niceties of Grenville's constitution: the piling of councils on assembly in a province whose population did not exceed the present population of Kenora may seem to have been excessive then, and pointless now. But the system of government created in 1791 was at the heart of Canadian politics for the next fifty years: it was not merely a forum for debate, but a subject of debate, and so it becomes necessary to pause and examine the details of Grenville's system. The idea of an appointive upper house, the Legislative Council, and an elective lower house, the Legislative Assembly, was not new. It had existed in some of the prerevolutionary American colonies, and it reflected, in modified form, what contemporaries called "the glories of the British constitution." This was of course no accident. Believing in the inherent superiority of British institutions, statesmen of the 1790s searched the recent past—the American Revolution—to discover ways of strengthening and preserving these institutions in a North American context.

The flaw that statesmen identified was that the prerevolutionary American governments had been too democratic, too subject to popular pressures. The first concern of the new colonial government must therefore be to reinforce the royal or executive power. The governor's council was therefore made appointive and responsible to the sovereign's local representative, who could make or unmake its members. The Executive Council was a form of cabinet, if by cabinet we can conceive of a group of politically oriented civil servants appointed to do the bidding of an official appointed from London. The Executive Council did not have the power to ratify legislation; in theory at least it did not make laws but enforced them. The making of laws was the job of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly, acting, it was hoped, in concert. Naturally the laws they made had effect only in Upper Canada. Only the legislature could levy taxes on the King's Upper Canadian subjects—taxes such as tariffs on goods coming across the American frontier. The British Parliament had given up, in 1778, any claim to tax the American colonies, and that British surrender still applied. There were, however, means of raising revenues through licences, land sales, and administrative fees that did not have to pass through the legislature, and whose effect was to confer a certain independence on the Upper Canadian executive.

The ultimate executive, at least on the western side of the Atlantic, continued to reside in Quebec City. The governor of Quebec now became the governor-in-chief of Canada. When the governor-in-chief came to visit his Upper Canadian province, he became its *de facto* executive. But the journey up the St Lawrence was long and tedious, and the governor-in-chief seldom came. In practice it was the lieutenant governor of Upper Canada who ruled the Great Lakes.

John Graves Simcoe was the man chosen to give flesh to Grenville's dream. A career officer with a taste for verse, Simcoe had commanded a Loyalist unit, the Queen's Rangers, in the American Revolution. Through his service in America Colonel Simcoe had come to admire loyal Americans, but he even managed to admire certain things about the disloyal kind. They were enterprising and energetic; they knew how to settle a country and bring it to prosperity. Perhaps they would get over their republican spasms and bring themselves to perceive the inherent absurdity of their new government. It followed that Upper Canada must succeed, both politically and economically, and that it must be seen to succeed. Simcoe saw no harm, and much positive good, in attracting Americans to his province, and he proceeded to shape his policies to bring about that happy result.

Gov-
1791-94

His instrument was land. Land was owed to the king's loyal subjects, first, and since 1784 it had been dispensed to the Loyalists, according to grade and rank in the late war, free of charge. Loyalists and their children—specially designated "UE" or United Empire as a mark of distinction—were entitled to grants, and also to trade their entitlements, which as late as the 1830s were opening up new lands for settlers who might never have set eyes on a living Loyalist. Land could be used to induce loyalty and to attract entrepreneurs and projectors to open up and then to people the townships of Upper Canada. Finally, land was a fitting reward to the servants of government, and there were few public servants who left Upper Canada without a few thousand acres to their credit. Simcoe himself was no exception to the rule; on his departure from the province in 1796 he left behind thousands of acres which his family only gradually sold off.

There was a contradiction in the land grants. They could accelerate development through concentration of effort and application of (American) expertise in settlement, but they could also retard development. By leaving land uncleared and unpeopled, the developer could wait until the surrounding townships were opened, and then sell off his properties at a good speculative profit. Nor were the grants conducive to perfect harmony among the inhabitants of Upper Canada. It was obvious that friends of government, and more particularly of the governor, had a greater chance to acquire land and wealth than the average subject. It is quite possible that the smoke of rumour was greater than the fire of patronage, but it is not surprising that tales of land grants became political currency in the years that followed, and that public officials had their names blackened for their supposed greed for land as well as office.

In addition to land grants, there were the clergy reserves, established in the Constitutional Act. The reserves were meant to support a "Protestant clergy" in Upper Canada, and were immune to virtually any enactment of the local legislature. Their abolition would require the consent of the British Parliament, whether tacit or explicit. The clergy reserves posed the same problem as the undeveloped grants. Lying in the midst of settled farms, and constituting one-seventh of the surface of any given township, the reserves placed a burden on their neighbours in developing roads.

The reserves were meant to support a Protestant clergy. But which Protestant clergy? The meaning was most unclear. To the various Protestant sects it meant, or should have meant, all. To Lieutenant Governor Simcoe it meant the Church of England as by law established in England. The fact that Great Britain had two established churches, the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, cut no ice with Simcoe, who stubbornly reserved the lands for Anglicans alone. This might not have been an insurmountable difficulty had God favoured Upper Canada with a deluge of Anglicans sufficient to drown the sectarians—Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and the like. Sadly, His will was expressed in other ways, with the result that the favoured church was supported by only a minority of the population. The Anglicans attempted to solve the conundrum by appropriating to their faith all those who professed no religion, but their reasoning did not impress.

The fruits of these policies were not immediately apparent before the end of Simcoe's term, in 1796. That would take time, and even now historians are not beyond disputing the precise relationship between land tenure and political dissatisfaction. But no one could doubt that land, in its earthly as well as its transcendental application, was at the centre of politics.

Simcoe's other policies did have results before he left Upper Canada, but they were not the results intended. When the lieutenant governor arrived in 1792, British troops still occupied the forts of Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac on the American side of the 1783 frontier. The Americans naturally wished to possess them, according to treaty, but the British were mindful that the Americans themselves had not fulfilled all the terms of the treaty of peace. Both sides had good reason to bury their differences and seek agreement: the Americans because of problems internal and external, the British because of the outbreak of war in Europe between themselves and revolutionary France in 1793, a war that would last with intermissions until 1815. The British government was not anxious to tangle with the Americans when it had more serious enemies closer to home, and the result was Jay's Treaty of 1794, which provided for the evacuation of the western posts on June 1, 1796. On that day the British troops moved back across the various rivers and lakes, and American soldiers took their place.

Jay's Treaty did little more than ratify a change in the balance of power between the Indian tribes, the British, and the Americans. In 1794 at the battle of Fallen Timbers the Americans eliminated the Indians of Ohio as serious rivals for the possession of the Ohio valley. The prospective Indian confederation of which the more ambitious native leaders had dreamed was indefinitely postponed. At the same time the Iroquois of the Grand River made another discovery — that their cousins on the American side of the border had, through land sales, achieved a tidy income at the expense of their former territories. Joseph Brant was soon agitating for the right to sell off some of the Grand River land to white settlers or speculators, and reluctantly the government gave in. It could not afford to offend Brant, and if the price of happiness was the disappearance of some of the Iroquois patrimony, so be it.

The last years of the eighteenth century, then, saw the confirmation of the international boundary in the form in which it exists today. Soon there would follow customs agents and tariffs and frontier posts. There would also be international trade, for the merchants and farmers of Upper Canada were delighted to supply the United States army at Forts Niagara and Detroit for an appropriate price. But behind the border the situation remained unstable. The Indian tribes of the northwest were not yet resigned to the American appropriation of their land, and the possibility of trouble remained. Nor were relations between the United States and Great Britain free of acrimony. The first decade of the nineteenth century was punctuated with quarrels between the British and American governments, over the rights of neutral American ships at sea and the ability to the Royal Navy to stop, search, and conscript ("impress") seamen it claimed as British deserters. Politicians were not lacking in the new American federal capital of Washington to demand that the British be chased out of North America altogether and the Great Lakes region reunited under the flag of liberty, the Stars and Stripes.

There were those in Canada who welcomed such talk. The land-granting policy of Simcoe and his successors had indeed been successful in attracting thousands of American immigrants to Upper Canada. Many of the Americans who came thought that settling in Upper Canada was the most natural thing in the world, barring only a few anachronisms like the Union Jack and a British administration. Travellers in Upper Canada found American sentiments rife among the population. At Queenston on the Niagara

River a visitor found "a determined partiality towards the United States and a decided and almost avowed hostility to the British government."

The government of Upper Canada was not ignorant that such views were current. The government had been located at York (later Toronto), across Lake Ontario from the exposed first capital of Newark (now Niagara-on-the-Lake). There the lieutenant governor, his councils, and the assembly met and legislated the future of the province, and quarrelled over land, place, and patronage. The details of the politics of the 1800s need not detain us, except for two points: they showed that the various parts — east, centre, and west — of the sprawling province had decidedly different complexions in terms of population, interests, and politics; and that these differences were to have descendants in the political factions and issues of future decades. The fact of political strife was important in itself, as were the numbers and personalities ranged on the opposing sides of issues. But the issues themselves were transitory and soon overshadowed by the far greater issue of war.

War was declared by the United States on Great Britain on June 18, 1812. It was a war that the American politicians who brought it about confidently expected to win. The United States had a vastly larger population than the British colonies in North America. The British were still involved in fighting France in the mountains and plains of far-away Spain. Between Upper Canada, population 136,000, and the adjacent American states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, the disparity was even greater. To defend Upper and Lower Canada the British had only a few battalions of regular troops, to which could be added the citizen soldiers, the militia, of the two provinces. The militia were almost completely untrained. Those in Upper Canada were estimated at about 11,000 in number, "of which it might not be prudent to arm more than 4000" as the governor-in-chief, Sir George Prevost, put it.

Prevost, who had the rank of general in the British army, held overall command in North America. The local defence of Upper Canada devolved on Major General Isaac Brock, the administrator of the province during the absence of the lieutenant governor who had left the previous year and would not return until 1816. Brock faced several options. His troops, fewer than 1600 in number, were scattered from Fort Malden on the Detroit River to Kingston on Lake Ontario. They depended on a long, thin line of communications, which the Americans could cut by seizing Montreal, crossing the St Lawrence River, or dominating Lake Ontario. Brock nevertheless urged that Upper Canada could and should be defended. Prevost reluctantly consented.

The Upper Canadian population did not share Brock's enthusiasm. Writing in July 1812, the general complained that his situation was "critical, not from any thing the enemy can do, but from the disposition of the people — The population, believe me, is essentially bad — A full belief possesses them that this Province must inevitably succumb." The drooping morale of the civilian population inhibited defence, but despite that, Brock added, "I however speak loud and look big."

To firm up the loyalty of the population, Brock knew that he must move rapidly. A small force seized Michilimackinac, with the happy result that the Indian tribes of the northwest joined in the conflict on the British side. The next target was Detroit, where the American commander, General William Hull, had attempted a brief and timid invasion of Upper Canada. Fearing British and Indian retaliation, Hull took refuge behind the walls of his fort, only to find, at the beginning of August, that he was surrounded by the British and their Indian allies. He surrendered on August 16, along with 2100 of his troops.

Brock quickly moved back east, to the Niagara frontier where, he correctly judged, the next American attack would occur. It came on the morning of October 13, at the village of Queenston. The Niagara River there was narrow and swift, and though the terrain on the British side was difficult — a steep cliff rising abruptly just inland from the river — its capture would allow the Americans

Butler's scalp and wallet as evidence that "the Devil of Cherry Valley" was dead.*

1782

Cornwallis surrendered his army of seven thousand Loyalists,‡ Hessians and British regulars ten days before Walter Butler died. Sir Henry Clinton sat tight in New York City. So did Guy Carleton, who succeeded him in February 1782.

The few skirmishes that erupted during 1782 and 1783 were products of the struggle between Governor Haldimand and George Washington for control of the West. This focused, of course, on control of the Six Nations' homelands and the Niagara gateway.

The savagery of the Butler-Johnson-Brant raids had forced the Americans to abandon Fort Schuyler. Then, when Carleton Island developed as the Loyalist bastion of the St. Lawrence headwater, Oswego had been abandoned. But when a declaration of peace became obvious, Governor Haldimand ordered the Royal Greens and Butler's Rangers to reoccupy Oswego. They did so during the summer of 1782.

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* The mystery of Walter Butler's corpse has intrigued Mohawk valley history buffs and fiction writers ever since. Most historians believe the body was abandoned and "probably eaten by wolves." But the existence of a Butler family plot in the graveyard of St. George's Church at Schenectady . . . the war-proof friendship between the Butlers and the family of Colonel Christopher Yates . . . the post-Revolution marriage of Walter's brother, William Johnson Butler, to Yates' daughter, Eve, all offer circumstantial evidence for the legend that Walter Butler's corpse was secretly brought to Schenectady and buried "under the third pew from the front, in the right aisle," of St. George's. A rector who served St. George's during the 1820's is accredited as author of the following jingle:

> Beneath the pew in which you sit
> They say that Walter Butler's buried.
> In such a fix, across the Styx
> I wonder who his soul has ferried?
>
> And so the ages yet unborn
> Shall sing your fame in song and story,
> How ages gone you sat upon
> A Revolutionary Tory.

‡ Including the Queen's Rangers, commanded by Colonel John Graves Simcoe.

Use quotes on page 146.

(Note pages 218–221)

On February 8, 1783—nine weeks after the provisional peace treaty had been signed in Paris—Colonel Marinus Willett and 470 Continentals left Fort Herkimer. They were under personal orders from General Washington to "capture and hold Oswego." Willett set up a position in the woods behind Oswego on the morning of February 13. He decided to rush the fort that midnight. But five soldiers from the fort were out foraging firewood. They saw the Americans and ran. Two of them were tomahawked. The other three reached the fort and shouted the alarm. Willett abandoned the attack and ordered the march back to Herkimer.

The long wrangle over the terms of the Treaty of Paris during 1782 and 1783 involved the ownership of Gibraltar, Florida and Louisiana as well as the independence of the United States. The final terms conceded the centers of the upper St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario, the Niagara River and Lake Erie as United States-Canadian borders, very much as they are today.

But Governor Haldimand and London agreed that Carleton Island, Oswego, and the Niagara's forts and portage must not be surrendered. More than 40,000 Loyalists had fled to Canada. Their indemnity claims for property seized by the Americans would total more than £9,000,000. New settlements must be developed for them. And, if the United States did manage to survive the intrigues of France and Spain, a buffer Indian Territory for the Six Nations and the Ohio valley tribes should be set up between the United States and Canada along the Upper Lakes!

The United States sent the dignified Prussian, Baron von Steuben, to Canada during August 1783, to demand "immediate surrender" of the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes forts "in accord with the Treaty of Paris." Governor Haldimand entertained the Baron at Sorel from August 11 to August 14 and purred a lengthy "No." Congress was too involved with interstate jealousies and the incompetence of the Articles of Confederation to mount another war.

Plans for Loyalist colonization of the upper St. Lawrence and Ontario wilderness were shaping out of the Niagara Edible Annex program by the time Haldimand and Von Steuben met. John

Butler inherited supervision of the Butler Barracks gardens and farms after Colonel Bolton's death. Butler's August 25, 1783, report told that 236 acres of Niagara riverbank had been cleared and planted. The crop was expected to total 206 bushels of wheat, 46 bushels of oats, 925 bushels of corn, 632 bushels of potatoes, plus "seasonal produce." Livestock herds had increased to 49 horses, 42 cows, 30 sheep and 103 hogs.

1783

783

That fall, Loyalists in Nova Scotia, Quebec and Montreal were offered Upper St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario land grants. The French had chosen well in selecting the sites for Toronto and Frontenac. The harbors there were excellent. Each offered hill sites for forts that could protect its community from the Americans. Since most of its pioneers were ex-New Yorkers, Toronto took the nostalgic name of York. The town that developed behind the ruins of Frontenac became Kingston. Molly Brant was one of its first home builders.

Easier access to Upper Canada, as this Ontario frontier was soon called, had been one of the first projects ordered by Haldimand after he returned to Quebec in 1780. In 1761, he had seen scores of Amherst's soldiers perish in the La Chine Rapids. The portage there cost thousands of pounds each year to operate. He

ordered William Twiss, coinventor of the radical landing craft first used on the St. Léger Expedition, to design and build a series of canals wide enough to tow *bateaux* past La Chine. The La Chine Canal, only six feet wide, was completed during 1782. It was the first ship canal in North America.

As Molly and Joseph Brant haughtily insisted, and Sir John meekly echoed,* land grants must be given, too, to the Six Nations warriors who had served, and suffered for, His Majesty. Brant and a delegation of sachems which probably included Farmer's Brother and Red Jacket, explored the Niagara peninsula during the fall and winter of 1783. They decided on the Grand River valley. Haldimand secured a Royal Grant of 768,000 acres there as the refugee homeland for Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas and Cayugas.

Governor Haldimand was 66 on August 11, 1784. He requested retirement. Sir Guy Carleton returned as Governor of Canada that November. He grasped Haldimand's dream of an Upper Canada as a haven for Loyalists who would assure guardianship of the essential lifeline up the Lakes to the fur sources in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

More than fifteen thousand Loyalists were pioneering Upper Canada on May 21, 1791, when Great Britain's Parliament passed the act establishing the area as a Royal Province. John Graves Simcoe, son of a Navy captain and former commander of the Queen's Rangers, came out as Upper Canada's first governor. The first sessions of the Provincial Assembly were held at Newark during the fall of 1792. One of the most meaningful laws it enacted was the decision to follow the example of Rhode Island and forbid "human slavery" in the province.

1791

Two years later, John Jay negotiated a treaty with Great Britain that gave the United States permission to "occupy forts along the Great Lakes in accord with the Treaty of Paris" during 1796. Simcoe, still certain that war with the United States would "come soon," moved Upper Canada's capital to York, ordered construction of Fort George behind the Butler Barracks to "command Fort

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* Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus both went to England during the 1780's and died there.

Niagara," and hastened completion of a portage road along the Upper Canada shore of the Niagara.

Some of the "coincidences" of history are beyond scientific explanation! Molly Brant died at Kingston on April 14, 1796. Colonel John Butler died at Newark on May 13. A shabby battalion of United States Infantry occupied Fort Niagara on August 19.

d. 1796

SECTION FIVE

THE FIGHT FOR THE LAKES

21 Nov 1812

SIR—I beg leave to inform you that, on the morning of the 21st Nov. [1812] *at 6 o'clock, a heavy cannonading opened upon this garrison, from all the batteries at, and in the neighborhood of fort George, which lasted, without intermission, until after sundown. . . . The enemy threw more than 2000 red-hot balls into it, and a number of shells, amounting to 180, only one of which did injury to our men. . . .*

Our garrison was not as well provided with artillery and ammunition, as I could have wished; however, the batteries opened a tremendous fire upon them, in return, with hot shot, admirably well directed. Several times, during the cannonading, the town of Newark was in flames . . . as also the centre building in fort George. Their Messhouse, and all the buildings near it, were consumed. . . .

An instance of very extraordinary bravery, in a female, (the wife of one Doyle, a private in the U. States artillery, made a prisoner at Queenstown) I cannot pass over:— during the most tremendous cannonading I have ever seen, she attended the 6 pounder, on the old messhouse, with the red hot shot, and showed fortitude equalling the Maid of Orleans.

—Lieut. Col. George McFeeley, Commanding Fort Niagara, to Brig. Gen. Smyth, commanding the Army of the Centre

(Cherry Valley [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] NG of Unadilla)

1758, August 23—Colonel John Bradstreet and Colonel Charles Clinton, with fifteen hundred militia and Six Nations scouts, left Oswego to attack Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ontario). Frontenac's surrender on August 28 destroyed the principal New France supply depot between Montreal and the Ohio and most of the Lake Ontario fleet. The raiders were back in the Mohawk valley by late September.

1759, July 1—A whaleboat fleet containing two thousand British regulars and Colonial militia left Oswego to besiege the Niagara forts. Brigadier General John Prideaux commanded the expedition. Colonel Frederick Haldimand remained at Oswego with one thousand three hundred troops to defend the portage route against attacks from Montreal and La Présentation. Sir William Johnson commanded the nine hundred Indian allies.

1759, July 20—General Prideaux and Colonel John Johnstone, his second in command, were killed during an inspection tour of the siege trenches.

1759, July 21—Sir William Johnson usurped command of the expedition, although it had technically passed to Colonel Haldimand at Oswego.

1759, July 24—Captain de Lignery, six hundred survivors of the Army of the Beautiful River and fifteen hundred Indians were ambushed at *La Belle Famille,* two miles from Fort Niagara.

1759, July 25—Captain Pouchot surrendered Fort Niagara to Johnson.

1760—Shipyards were opened behind the Falls and across Lower Niagara from the fort. Captain John J. Schlosser, given the command of Upper Niagara, built namesake fort near site of Little Niagara.

1761—John Stedman (Steadman) became Master of Niagara Portage. He built his home on site of Little Niagara.

1763, September 14—Senecas ambushed Stedman's wagontrain and rescue troops at Devil's Hole, leaving eighty-eight scalped dead.

1764, July to September—Captain John Montresor, Chief Engineer of British forces in North America, designed and supervised construction of "plate-way" carrier up Lewiston bluff as well as series of blockhouses along the portage route. Fort Erie was westernmost blockhouse. Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Putnam of Connecticut Militia commanded the construction battalions. Meanwhile, at Fort Niagara, Sir William Johnson negotiated peace treaties with Indian allies of the Pontiac War.

1775, July 25—Captain John Butler and a hundred Mohawks reached Niagara after flight from "Continental rebels" in Mohawk valley.

1776, June—Sir John Johnson fled to Niagara.

1777, July—Butlers, Johnsons and Brants persuaded five hundred Senecas and Cayugas to join the St. Léger Expedition.

1778, Spring—John Butler recruited regiment of Royal Rangers.

1778, July 4—More than three hundred were massacred after Butler's Rangers and Indians captured Wyoming Valley forts, at site of Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania.

1778, August and September—Rangers and Joseph Brant's warriors burned German Flats and other "Continental" communities in Mohawk valley.

1778, October 6 to 8—Continentals out of Albany and Schoharie Valley plundered and burned Loyalist strongholds at Unadilla and Ouaquaga in Susquehanna valley. NY (near PA NC border

1778, November 11—John Butler and Rangers captured fort at Cherry Valley; Joseph Brant's warriors fired village and murdered thirty women, children and aged.

1779, May—Colonel Goose Van Schaick and Colonel Marinus Willett led Continental raid through Onondaga homeland, burned castles and killed livestock.

1779, August—Butler Rangers and Indians were defeated by Clinton-Sullivan Expedition at Newtown, near site of Elmira. NY

1779, September to November—Clinton-Sullivan troops destroyed Cayuga and Seneca castles, livestock and orchards between Genesee valley and Finger Lakes. More than three thousand Indians fled to Niagara.

1780, Spring—After hundreds died in the winter "Starving Time" at Niagara, the first cropfields were plowed and sown on west bank of Lower Niagara.

1780, October 31—Butler Rangers and Johnson Greens returned from Mohawk-Schoharie raid.

1780, November 1—Colonel William Bolton, commander of Fort Niagara, was among those lost when the new snow, *Ontario,* foundered "with all hands" en route to Kingston.

1781, January—Ranger volunteers started east to recruit new companies in Hudson valley and New Jersey.

1781, Spring—Haldimand plan of "Edible Annex" was expanded to offer of farmland and "necessary equipment" along Lower Niagara to Loyalist refugees "until the rebellion is put down and you can return home."

1781, October 29—Captain Walter Butler was killed during skirmish at Canada Creek ford as he covered the retreat of Major John Ross's raiders.

1783, February 8—Americans failed to "capture and hold" Oswego.

1783, August—Governor Haldimand met at Sorel with Baron Von Steuben and announced refusal to obey Treaty of Paris regarding surrender of Great Lakes forts to the United States.

1784—Loyalist refugees, shipped from New York to Nova Scotia during 1783, started migration up the St. Lawrence to join Loyalists at Niagara in founding Upper Canada. Haldimand signed treaty granting "the Mohawk Nation and such other of the Six Nations Indians as wish to settle in that quarter" a tract 12 miles wide centering on the Grand River from Lake Erie to "the head of said river."

1788, June—The Reverend John Stuart, former Anglican missionary in Mohawk valley, dedicated Her Majesty's Chapel of the Mohawks near headwaters of the Grand River.

1791—Upper Canada was created by Constitutional Act of British Parliament.

1792, September 17—Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe convened first session of Upper Canada's Parliament at Navy Hall, Newark. (Denmark had abolished human slavery by royal decree that May. The Upper Canada Parliament's October decision to "prevent the introduction of Negro slaves" became the second such national law on Earth, and the first in North America.)

1795—The Jay Treaty, signed by the United States and Great Britain on November 19, hastened Upper Canada's construction of a military-roads network through Detroit-Niagara-York-Kingston and a portage road up the west shore of the Niagara. Fort George was built on the west shore of Lower Niagara "to dominate" Fort Niagara.

1795—First refugee slaves from the United States were welcomed to Indian settlements in Grand River Valley.

1796, August 11—United States Infantry occupied Fort Niagara. Two families then lived on the Niagara's American shore. That summer, Moses Cleaveland with forty-seven men and two women from Connecticut crossed the portage to locate homes on the Lake Erie shore.

Ohio - Connecticut
still claimed
that upper Ohio

1807—James Fenimore Cooper served his apprenticeship as a midshipman on the U.S.S. *Oneida*, the 43-ton brig constituting the United States Navy fleet on Lake Ontario. The "cocktail" may have originated at the Hustler Tavern in Lewiston about that time. Settlers along Buffalo Creek rejected the Holland Land Company's name of "New Amsterdam" for their village, and adopted "Buffalo."

1810, August 2 to 5—DeWitt Clinton explored Niagara as a member of New York State Commission "to study the possibility of constructing a canal to connect the Hudson River with Lakes Ontario and Erie."

1812, June 4—United States House of Representatives approved Declaration of War against Great Britain by a 79–49 vote. United States Senate approved by a 19–13 vote on June 17.

1812, October 13—Lieutenant-Governor Isaac Brock was killed; Lieutenant Colonel Winfield Scott, Brigadier General William Wadsworth and nine hundred Americans were captured at Battle of Queenston Heights.

1813, February—Noah Brown and Daniel Dobbins began boatyard at Erie, Pennsylvania, to build United States Navy fleet for Upper Lakes.

April 27—Brigadier General Zebulon Pike was killed after leading successful American assault on York.

May 27—Americans captured Forts George and Erie and released United States Navy Ships at Black Rock.

May 29—Brigadier General Jacob Brown and fifteen hundred militia repulsed Canadian attack on Sacket's Harbor.

July 9—Canadians raided Black Rock and burned shipyard.

June 24—The Laura Secord legend originated when six hundred Americans, in "surprise attack" on Canadian stronghold at Beaver Dams, were ambushed and captured.

December 10—Brigadier General George McClure ordered his American troops to abandon and burn Fort George and Newark.

December 18—Canadians, under Colonel John Murray, took Fort Niagara "by the bayonet." General Phineas Riall's command, with Indians, burned Lewiston and Black Rock.

December 29—Riall's Canadians burned Buffalo.

1814, July 3 and 4—Americans recaptured Fort Erie, then defeated Riall's twenty-one hundred men at Chippewa Creek.

1814, July 25—The Battle of Lundy's Lane, fought from sunset to midnight less than a mile west of the Falls, was deadliest of the War of 1812. Americans lost 860; Canadians, 878. Generals Winfield Scott and Jacob Brown were wounded. General Riall was wounded and captured.

1814, August 15—Canadian attack on Fort Erie was repulsed after ammunition chest in the captured bastion exploded. Legend credits American Lieutenant Patrick MacDonogh with setting off the explosion that killed him and twenty-five others and wounded more than three hundred.

1814, November—Americans evacuated Fort Erie, a month before the Treaty of Ghent ended the war.

1837, December 29—Canadian militia seized Patriots' supply ship *Caroline* at Schlosser Landing, set it afire, then ran it down Upper Rapids to burn at edge of Falls.

1838, January 12 to 20—General Winfield Scott averted United States involvement in the Patriot War and a probable third war with Great Britain.

EIGHTEEN

PATRIOTS AND SLAVES

The Treaty of Ghent, like every other treaty that had attempted to soothe the rivalries between inhabitants of the St. Lawrence and Mohawk-Genesee plow-ways, merely resumed the wary truce of 1783 to 1812. The forts, like old wolves guarding the wood and stone clusters they had whelped and nursed, continued to defy one another across the St. Lawrence, the Niagara, the Detroit, the St. Clair and the Sault Ste. Marie. The terms "Canuck" and "Slick Yankee" became fashionable sneer-names for translake neighbors. Boundary disputes, business recessions, nationalist cranks and the refusal of the United States to resolve the white supremacy fetish brought the forts of Niagara to battle tenseness again in 1837 . . . 1846 . . . 1862 . . . 1866. The "unguarded boundary between the Good Neighbors" was a politicians' myth.*

General Drummond's troops abandoned Fort Niagara, Lewiston and Niagara Falls during May 1815. Buffalo incorporated as a village in 1816. President James Monroe, who had served as Secretary of War between August 1814 and March 1815, became the first United States President to visit Fort Niagara when, during the summer of 1817, he reviewed troops, dined at the House of Peace, then—en route to the falls—inspected the docks and the new road being built up Crawl-on-all-Fours by Porter, Bloom & Company.

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* It still is!

Thundergate

The Forts of Niagara

By Robert West Howard

The saga of Thundergate, site of twelve forts, centuries of adventure, and a score of battles crucial to the early history of the United States and Canada.

974.7
H851

"Early Life In Upper Canada" (1963)
Edwin C Guillet - (Madison F1058 G87)

CHAPTER III

THE "HUNGRY YEAR" (1788)

> "The century's last decade came with signs
> Foreboding evil to the forest land.
> The sun and moon alternate rose and set,
> Red, dry, and fiery, in a rainless sky;
> And month succeeded month of parching drouth,
> That ushered in the gaunt and hungry year,—
> The hungry year whose name still haunts the land
> With memories of famine and of death!"
>
> WILLIAM KIRBY.[1]

AT the close of the American Revolution the British Government determined to do all in its power to assist Loyalist refugees and disbanded soldiers to establish a home in Canada. For three years they were to be provided with such rations as were allowed daily to the private soldier; and at the expiration of this period it was presumed that they would be able to provide for themselves. The requisite supplies were transported by bateau to each township, and depots were established where provisions were dealt out regularly to each family according to the number of children. They were also provided with spring wheat, peas, corn and potatoes for seed, and government grist-mills were constructed at Kingston, Niagara and Napanee for their use; but at the end of three years there were still many unprepared to support themselves, and, as a season of drought and poor crops coincided with the end of the rationing system, a period of unparalleled hardship was the result.

The year of famine,[2] known to some as "the scarce year", "the hard summer", or "the starved year", was 1788, though the distress commenced in some districts the year previous and lasted until 1789. While crops were undoubtedly poor in almost every part of Upper Canada, Dr. William Canniff does not emphasise any general failure, but suggests rather that neglect on the part of some, and inability on the part of others, made it impossible for them to supply themselves adequately with the necessities of life when the government suddenly discontinued the distribution of rations. Some settlers had come but recently to Upper Canada and soon used up the supplies they had brought with them; while others relied on the rumour that the King would continue the distribution of food a year or so longer.

Canniff considered[3] that the Commissary Department of the Army might have alleviated the suffering by bringing up larger quantities of stores from Lower Canada, where the scarcity was less acute. It appears remarkable that the system of rationing was not immediately recommenced when the scarcity became so great; but such reports as are available indicate that there was great difficulty in obtaining food in large quantities, even in the United States, while the slow means of transport of that day greatly delayed the distribution of such food as was to be had. Even officials engaged in the public service did not receive the rations upon which they were entirely dependent.

It would appear that the scarcity, commencing with a poor harvest in 1787, developed very gradually and surprised officials and settlers alike in its intensity; and as the severe winter wore away, the spring of 1788 found the inhabitants almost devoid of food and seed. Towards the end of the famine Lord Dorchester allowed free importation of provisions from the United States *viâ* Lake Champlain, as his dispatch to Lord Sydney, under date of February 14, 1789, states.[4] Had the duties on such imports been removed a year earlier much of the suffering might have been avoided.

The French settlements along the Detroit River, and such Loyalists as had arrived in Essex County did not escape the severity of the famine year. Their communication with the rest of Upper Canada, and with Lower

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[1] William Kirby: *The Hungry Year*. 1878. p. 5.

[2] For an account of this unfortunate event we are almost entirely dependent upon the reminiscences of Loyalists who experienced the famine, for there is but little reference to it in official documents or in contemporary publications. Seventy-five years ago, when Dr. William Canniff was collecting the material for his *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada*, many people could remember the "hungry year", and he obtained valuable reminiscences of the event from men upon whose memory had been made a permanent impression of the extreme suffering occasioned by the scarcity. The chief other sources of material relating to the subject are referred to in the accompanying notes, numbers 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 11.

[3] See William Canniff: *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada*. 1869. pp. 195-201.

[4] Dorchester to Sydney, February 14, 1789.

Canada, was infrequent, and they were not dependent upon supplies from Montreal and Quebec. The main settled districts most remote from Lower Canada, the base of supplies, were those at Niagara and the Bay of Quinté, and there the distress seems to have been most intense; but there was also a very considerable scarcity of food all along the shores of the St. Lawrence.

The authorities seem to have distributed generously such supplies as were available at the garrison towns. The rations of the soldiers were reduced to a biscuit a day at Kingston to relieve the suffering of settlers; while at Niagara the "King's stores" were distributed among the people who lived close enough to come for them. Food was everywhere in great demand. Settlers are reported to have traded 200 acres of land for a few pounds of flour, a cow for eight bushels of potatoes, and a fine three-year old horse for fifty pounds of flour; and half-starved children on the shores of the St. Lawrence were known to beg sea-biscuits from passing boatmen and traders.[5]

In the Niagara district the drought and heat dried up wells and springs, and water was unobtainable at a distance from lake or river. Crops withered, cattle died, and game and wild birds practically disappeared, while frequent forest fires added to the trials of the inhabitants. Colonel John Clark of Niagara refers in his reminiscences[6] to the use as food of roots and greens from the woods, and states that a kind of tea was made from sassafras and hemlock. Captain James Dittrick of St. Catharines recalled many details: "We noticed what roots the pigs ate, and by that means avoided anything that had any poisonous qualities." He considered that the officers of the army did all in their power to mitigate distress, but the supplies were so limited that "only a small pittance was dealt out to each petitioner". He further states that dogs were killed to allay the pangs of hunger, "the very idea bringing sickness to some, but others devoured the flesh quite ravenously and soon became habituated to the taste". His family had also to kill a horse which could ill be spared from farm work; but there was nothing else to eat, and the horse "lasted a long time and proved very profitable eating".[7]

In reminiscences written for Egerton Ryerson, Thomas Merritt of St. Catharines states that many families had no food left when the harvest was still three months away; and that leaves, ground nuts, herbs and fish were the common foods; but that "in the middle of June moss became so thick in the river that they could not see to fish". Some settlers who had a cow lived on milk for all meals until the wheat had headed sufficiently, whereupon it was boiled for food.[8]

William Kirby's poem, *The Hungry Year*, emphasises the devastation wrought by drought and forest fire, and gives the Indian explanation of the catastrophe.

"Corn failed, and fruit and herb. The tender grass
Fell into dust. Trees died like sentient things,
And stood wrapped in their shrouds of withered leaves,
That rustled weirdly round them sear and dead.
From springs and brooks no morning mist arose;
The water vanished; and a brazen sky
Glowed hot and sullen through the pall of smoke
That rose from burning forests, far and near.

Slowly the months rolled round on fiery wheels;
The savage year relented not, nor shut
Its glaring eye, till all things perished,—food
For present, seed for future use were gone.
'All swallowed up', the starving Indians said,
'By the great serpent of the Chenonda
That underlies the ground and sucks it dry'."[9]

The reminiscences of settlers in the Bay of Quinté district give some additional details of conditions during the famine. In an address delivered at Picton in 1859 Canniff Haight said:

"Men willingly offered pretty much all they possessed for food. I could show you one of the finest farms in Hay Bay that was offered to my grandfather for a half hundred of flour and refused. A very respectable old lady . . . . was wont in those days to wander away early in the spring to the woods, and gather and eat the buds of the basswood and then bring an apron or basketful home to the children. Glad they were to pluck the rye and barley heads for food as soon as the kernel had formed; and not many miles from Picton a beef's bone was passed from house to house and was boiled again and again in order to extract some nutriment."[10]

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[5] See T. W. H. Leavitt: *History of Leeds and Grenville*. 1879. pp. 22-3; and W. S. Herrington: *The History of Lennox and Addington*. 1913. pp. 39-40.

[6] Reminiscences of Colonel John Clark, Coventry Papers, Public Archives of Canada. (Most of the material is printed in Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, Vol. VII).

[7] Reminiscences of Captain James Dittrick, Coventry Papers.

[8] Reminiscences of Thomas Merritt, Coventry Papers.

[9] Kirby, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

During the winter, fishing was almost impossible, for the extreme cold froze up lake and river to a depth of two feet. Powder and shot were scarce or more game might have been obtained. Some of the inhabitants were so hungry that they did not wait even to dress the game they caught by snares, but roasted it as it was; others ate so many fish in the spring that they became ill. Children were sent to the woods to discover the storehouses of squirrels and remove the nuts. Catherine White stated that "bull-frogs were eaten when provisions were scant, and potatoes which had been planted were dug up to eat".[11] Some families had nothing to eat for weeks at a time but baked bran cakes, while millet seed was frequently a substitute for wheat flour. References are found to the use as food of such plants as wild rice, pigweed, lamb's quarter, ground nut and Indian cabbage; while the bark of trees and the leaves and buds of the maple, beech and basswood were found edible in some degree when boiled.

Henry Ruttan, whose parents had settled near Adolphustown among the first Loyalists, stated that the severe winter caused the deer to fall easy prey to the wolves, "who fattened on their destruction whilst men were perishing from want". His uncle had a little money which he had obtained from the sale of his captain's commission, and he used this to send two men two hundred miles to Albany, the journey being a hazardous one, for there were no roads and the route was largely by trail through the forests. In

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[10] Quoted in Herrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

[11] Reminiscences of Catherine Chrysler White, Coventry Papers. (Printed in Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, Vol. VII).

many districts the snow was so deep that progress was almost impossible, but the men finally returned with four bushels of Indian corn. The Ruttans had also a cow, without which "all would have perished in the year of scarcity". The family of eight lived until the next harvest on this small amount of grain and the milk from the cow. By pounding the corn in a hollowed stump or hominy-block it was made into meal which was baked into bread and cakes. Roots, nuts and wild berries supplied additional food for the family.[12]

The famine affected life in all its aspects. There is a record of a "raising bee" where, instead of the copious supplies of food usually found at such gatherings, a pailful of eggs which had been saved for the occasion provided the food. They were beaten up with milk and rum, and the mixture was served as the only refreshment available.[13]

The commissariat officers at Niagara attempted to collect payment in later years for food distributed to settlers during the scarcity. When Prince Edward visited Niagara in 1791 some of the inhabitants approached him for relief from such treatment, and he ordered the officers to cancel all such debts and withdraw any lawsuits which had been instituted. "My father is not a merchant to deal in bread and ask payment for food granted for the relief of his loyal subjects", said the Duke of Kent in his reply to the petition. We have no record of any attempt to charge settlers in other sections of the province for such aid as they received during the famine.

A number of people died of starvation during the period of scarcity, while others met death as a result of eating poisonous roots, or from diseases induced by malnutrition. Henry Ruttan said that five of the inhabitants in the vicinity of Hay Bay were found dead, "including one poor woman with a live infant at her breast".[14]

Miraculous events are related as accompaniments of the famine. It is said that while one settler went on a journey in search of food, his wife and family were saved from starvation by being supplied with a rabbit every day by the family cat, which had never been known to catch a rabbit previously, nor did it ever do so again after the father had returned eight days later with a little food. An old couple were reported to have been saved by wild pigeons who flew to the house and allowed themselves to be killed.[15] Such remarkable accounts may have been largely the product of over-wrought imaginations; but, in the absence of more exact historical material which it is possible to verify, these reminiscences enable us to picture some of the circumstances of a deplorable situation which for a time threatened the extinction of the infant Loyalist settlements.

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[12] See Henry Ruttan: *Autobiography*. (In *Transactions* of the United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario, 1899, pp. 77-8).

[13] Canniff, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[14] Ruttan, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

The following year, 1789, brought relief to most of the inhabitants. A series of excellent crops rewarded those whose industry enabled them to sow a quantity of grain and potatoes, and the "hungry year" passed into memory as the most distressing period in the annals of pioneer life in Canada.

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[15] See Leavitt, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

CHAPTER IV

GRINDING GRAIN INTO FLOUR

THE RELIGIOUS MILL

> "The religious mill was the Shantz Mill at Port Elgin, operated by a man named Leader. The miller refused to run a minute after twelve o'clock on Saturday night. On one occasion, during a period of special pressure, a helper in the mill proposed to run right through the last night in the week in order to catch up. A man who happened to be present at the time, for a joke on the helper put some wet grain in the hopper as the clock was nearing the midnight hour. Exactly on the stroke of twelve the wet grain struck the stones and the mill stopped dead. 'I told you," said the joker, 'that this was a religious mill and would not, under any circumstances, run on Sunday.'"[1]

WHEN the Loyalist settlers came to Upper Canada, they were for three years supplied with food by a grateful government; but one of the greatest difficulties with which these pioneers were beset was to get the grain which had been given to them ground into flour. Many of those who settled in Glengarry County, and in other districts along the St. Lawrence, were provided with portable mills, consisting of revolving steel plates; these mills were turned by hand like a coffee- or pepper-mill, but do not appear to have been popular, owing to the difficulty of their operation. No such utensils seem to have been distributed in the Bay of Quinté settlement or farther west, and the settlers in these regions had to get their grain crushed as best they could.

Various modes of milling flour at home were adopted, but in all of them the work was done by hand. The Indians were known to have used a hollowed-out stump for the purpose, or to have employed stones to crush grain into meal in finely-woven reed or wooden baskets; similar means were therefore adopted by the early settlers. Sometimes the grain was crushed with an axe upon a flat stone, but a more satisfactory method was the hominy-block or plumping-mill; this was a mortar made in the stump of a tree, or in a section of the trunk. A hardwood stump, often ironwood, was chosen, and it was hollowed out by building a fire in the centre and keeping the outside wet, or by the use of a red-hot cannon-ball or other piece of iron. The hole was then cleaned out with axes and knives.

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[1] Reminiscences of Patrick Cummings of Bruce County, quoted in W. L. Smith: *Pioneers of Old Ontario*. 1923. p. 259.

The size of these mills varied; sometimes the mortar contained only a few quarts, but frequently it held a bushel or more of grain. A pestle or pounder, of the hardest wood, was used to crush the grain; this pestle was six or eight feet long, about eight inches in diameter at the lower end, and at the top sufficiently small to be spanned by the hand. At first hand-power alone was used for grinding, but later a sweep-pole, sometimes attached to the bough of a tree, was added, and this made the work somewhat easier. Canniff describes it as "similar to a well-pole; and, a hard weighty substance being attached to the pole, much less strength was required to crush the grain, and at the same time a larger quantity could be done".[2]

Two men usually worked together at the plumping-mill. It was comparatively easy to make meal out of Indian corn or wild rice by this crude means, but the grinding of wheat was very difficult, and a great deal of labour was necessary to obtain even a coarse, brown flour. Captain James Dittrick of St. Catharines gives a few additional particulars of the hominy-block in his reminiscences of Loyalist days:

"The mills of rude workmanship were thinly scattered about the country, so that we had to content ourselves with a hollow stump to pound our grain in, which was done with a cannon-ball, fastened to a cord or bark of a tree, and affixed to a long pole which served as a lever. The bread or cakes thus made were not particularly white, but were eaten with a good appetite and proved wholesome."[3]

Early settlers occasionally boiled Indian corn in strong lye made from wood ashes, until the grains burst open; whereupon, after being well washed in clear water and allowed to dry thoroughly, it was easily ground in the plumping-mill.

The grinding of grain by these primitive means did not result in a very refined product. The bran was sometimes

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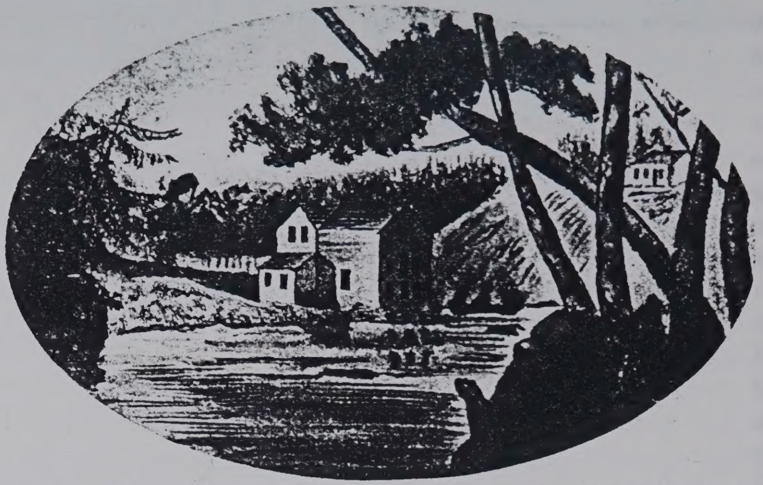
[2] William Canniff: *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada.* 1869. p. 194.

[3] Reminiscences of Captain James Dittrick. (Coventry Papers, Public Archives of Canada.)

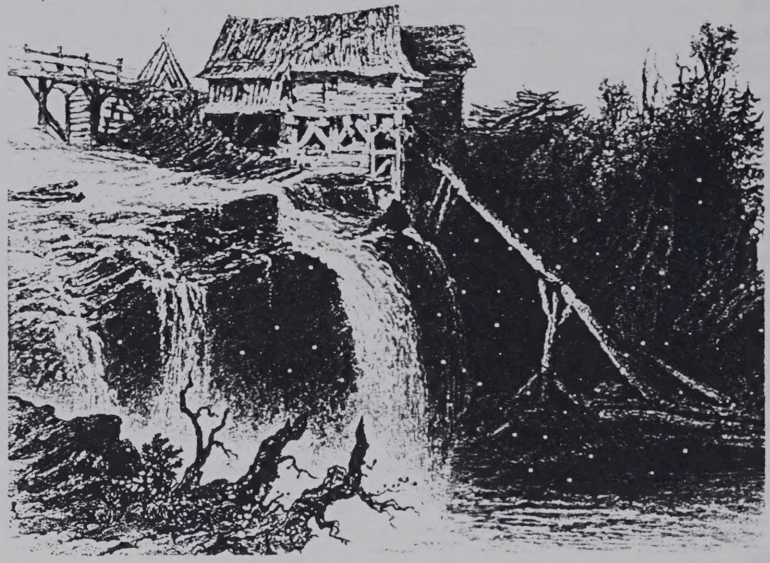


John Ross Robertson Collection

Mrs. John Graves Simcoe

MILL ON THE APPANEE RIVER, 1795

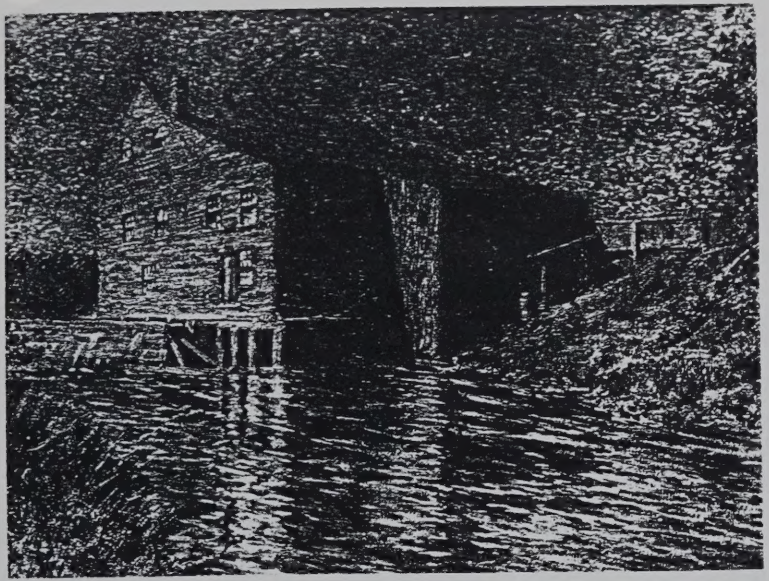
The location of this early government mill was the left bank of the river, in Fredericksburg Township



W. H. Bartlett

MILL AND BRIDGE ON THE RIDEAU RIVER, NEAR BYTOWN, 1840

A scene typical of almost any mill-stream in pioneer days



John S. Gordon, A.R.C.A.
Reproduced by Permission of the National Gallery of Canada
OLD KIRBY MILL, BRANTFORD

Homer R. Watson, R.C.A.
Reproduced by Permission of the National Gallery of Canada
THE FLOOD GATE

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separated from the flour by a horse-hair sieve, one of which often served a whole community; other settlers used a thin cloth for the same purpose, or winnowed the meal by sifting it in the wind. The entire work of making flour was quite frequently done by women, and the use of the hominy-block continued for many years, particularly in districts where grist-mills were remote. Early settlers describe long trips by canoe or bateau to obtain the precious "stone" flour which only the mills could produce. The white flour thus procured was often reserved for special occasions; though even milled flour was sometimes "black and bad",[4] owing to defective apparatus for cleaning the wheat.

The obtaining of satisfactory flour by any of the domestic methods was so difficult that the government ordered a grist-mill to be built near Kingston for the convenience of settlers along the St. Lawrence, in the Bay of Quinté district, and along the shores of Lake Ontario. This mill was erected in 1782-3 on the Cataraqui River, seven miles north of the fort, a location chosen as a central point to which the Loyalist settlers, who were about to be brought in, might most conveniently come from east and west. Robert Clark, a millwright, was employed by the government to take charge of the construction of the mill, and soldiers of the garrison at Kingston were detailed to do some of the rougher preparatory work in 1782. The mill and mill-house were constructed at a "raising bee" in 1783 by the united efforts of the first Loyalist soldier settlers to arrive in the district.

For four years no other mill was available to the inhabitants of this part of Canada, and grain was hauled to Cataraqui from such remote districts as Cornwall in the east, and Ontario and Durham Counties in the west. Many a settler carried his grain a long distance on his back or by hand-sleigh in winter, or in canoe, bateau or raft in summer. Roger Bates, for example, used to make the trip in the early seventeen-nineties from Darlington Township, Durham County; the journey took five or six weeks to accomplish by bateau, and at night the boat was pulled up on shore and used for shelter. In winter the lack of roads forced some to tramp through deep snow many a dismal mile, following an Indian trail or the windings of the lake shore. No charge was made for grinding grain at the Cataraqui Mill, but the congestion was frequently so great that a man had to wait several days before his turn came. The original mill remained standing until 1836.

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[4] Frances Stewart: *Our Forest Home.* 1889. 2nd Edition, 1902, pp. 76-7.

In 1783 the government constructed a similar mill in the Niagara district, near the mouth of 4-Mile Creek. After a few months as a government mill it was operated by Captain Daniel Servos. Early settlers at the head of Lake Ontario had to make a two-day journey to this grist-mill, which was for two years the only one in the western district. In 1784 it was planned to erect a church and a mill at the Mohawk Village, near Brantford, but though the church was erected in 1785 it was several years before the mill was built.

In 1785 another mill in the Bay of Quinté district was commenced by the government, and it was located on the Apanee, or Napanee, River. The name is said to be Indian for "flour", but the falls was called by that name before the building was constructed. Not until 1787 was the mill ready to commence operations, some of the machinery not being installed until late in 1786. A bill of expenses gives the cost of the materials and work, a considerable part of the expenditure consisting of the purchase of rum for those who aided in the raising.[5] In 1792 this mill seems to have been rebuilt.

Though there was no charge at the Kingston mill, a small toll was collected at Napanee; but the convenience of getting their grain ground nearer home and without so much delay was of great value to the Bay of Quinté settlers, and the mill was long the best in the province. The third grist-mill in this district was Van Alstine's, erected about 1796 at Lake-on-the-Mountain. In all of Upper Canada's early mills more corn than wheat was ground at first, but, as the clearing of the land increased, wheat-growing became more widespread.

Farther eastward, on the St. Lawrence, the Loyalist settlers established a number of mills before the close of

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[5] Account book of Robert Clark, millwright, quoted in Canniff, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8.

the eighteenth century. At New Johnstown (Cornwall) water-mills were found to be impracticable owing to the shoving of the ice, so two windmills were early constructed there. In 1788 the first grist-mill in Dundas County was erected by Messrs. Coons and Shaver; this was a small structure in Matilda Township, one mile above the village of Iroquois, and it had one run of stone capable of grinding 100 bushels of grain per day. Soon afterwards John Munroe of Matilda built a larger mill with three run of stone. As early as 1791-2 Joel Stone, Loyalist founder of Gananoque, had a small grist-mill in operation at the mouth of the Gananoque River. As an example of average development in the front townships of the St. Lawrence after the War of 1812 may be taken Charlottenburgh Township, in Glengarry; here in 1816 there were "four grist-mills, with two additional pairs of stones, one of which additional pairs is for hulling barley and oats".[6]

On November 7, 1792, a "Statement of the Mills in the District of Nassau, specifying by whom erected, by what authority and what year, etc.", was issued by D. W. Smith, Surveyor-General, and Augustus Jones, government surveyor. The district of Nassau included the entire region from the Trent River to Long Point, but all of the mills were then located in what may be termed the Niagara district—between the head of Lake Ontario and Port Colborne. Of nineteen mills mentioned, four are both saw and grist, five are grist only, seven saw only, all of which had been built; and one grist- and two saw-mills were in process of erection. The report is worth quoting in full, but the saw-mills will be omitted as outside the scope of the present work. The details of location and ownership make possible the location of the exact sites of many of these very early enterprises; while other occasional details show that permission had to be obtained from the government before the mill was commenced, and give other interesting sidelights upon the subject. The list of grist-mills follows:

1. "A saw- and grist-mill near the Falls of Niagara, on the west shore of the River St. Lawrence, in the town-

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[6] Robert Gourlay: *A Statistical Account of Upper Canada.* 1822. Vol. I, p. 559.

on a very large scale. About one hundred people derive employment from it. It is supplied with corn for the most part from the United States. It is driven by two large breast wheels".[13] The stone walls of this mill still remain, though the structure was destroyed by fire in 1847, and another built in 1848. For some years longer it remained a centre of trade and business, but the coming of the railways in the fifties diverted the trade, and the establishment was closed in 1858. Previous to this date several other mills were being operated on the upper reaches of the Humber.

The first grist-mill along the Lake Ontario shore between the Rouge River and the Bay of Quinté was that erected in 1794 by Colonel Myers on Myers' Creek (also known as the Moira River), on the present site of Belleville. The earliest settlers at Smith's Creek (Port Hope) made a trip to this mill with their first grain in the winter of 1794-5, "the grain being dragged through the pathless woods on rough sleds".[14]

The Statement of Mills in the District of Nassau, quoted above, notes that a mill-site had been chosen "on a creek called Smith's Creek, north side of Lake Ontario, in the Township of Hope, lot No. 6 in front, at the head of a small pond".[15] Peter Smith had established a trading-post at that point in 1778, near the Indian village Cochingomink (or Pemiscutiank), and in 1790 he was succeeded in the Indian trade by one Herchimere. In 1793 the first settlers arrived, and in the following year the government offered a Loyalist, Elias Smith, a large grant of land on the shores of the creek if he would agree to build saw- and grist-mills. Work was commenced upon them in the spring of 1795, and the flour-mill was completed during that year under the direction of Captain John Burns; but the mill-race was unfinished, and the following spring the frost caused the banks to give way, resulting in a failure of the whole enterprise. Finally, in 1798, the mill was moved down the creek by an American millwright for $1,000, and saw- and grist-mills were in operation on the east bank of the

1793

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[13] Quoted in K. M. Lizars: *The Valley of the Humber*. 1913. p. 78.
[14] W. A. Craick: *Port Hope Historical Sketches*. 1901. p. 10.
[15] Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

creek a few months later. The excellence of the Smith's Creek mills resulted in their being patronised by settlers from far and near. About 1801 White's grist-mill was established seven miles to the east, near Amherst (Cobourg), and gradually others were erected on the main creeks and rivers along the north shore of Lake Ontario.

Some of the proprietors of early mills overcharged the settlers for grinding their grain, and consequently an Act was passed by the first parliament of the province to regulate the tariff. This law, which well exemplifies the practical utility of the acts of Simcoe's *régime*, forbade millers to take more than one-twelfth of the grist as payment for their work. The story is told that one-tenth was being considered, but one miller said this was not enough and suggested one-twelfth, which was thereupon made the legal rate![16]

It is, of course, not possible, nor would it be desirable, to refer to the development of milling facilities in every section of Upper Canada; but, the general course of events along the St. Lawrence and the Lakes having been described, some account of flour-milling in the rear of the earliest settlements will show the characteristic trend.

One of the first settlements back from the Lakes was that of Oxford County. Blenheim Township was surveyed for these settlers, of whom Thomas Horner was the first, by Augustus Jones in 1793, when the closest white inhabitants were near the Mohawk Village eastward and at Chatham in the west. The first mills in the county, both saw and grist, were erected by Horner in the vicinity of Princeton, on the Governor's Road. He had a saw-mill ready for use by 1798. The grist-mill was first operated in 1802, but in 1809 it was burned down and was never rebuilt. The second grist-mill in Oxford County was erected by James Burdick at Centreville in 1806-7. Both of these early enterprises were conducted in buildings only sixteen feet square.

When the first German settlers emigrated from Pennsylvania to Waterloo County in 1800-2 the nearest gristremunerative. He was admitted to the bar in 1803, and carried on all his professions for some years. In 1800 Chief Justice Elmsley presided over the Court of King's Bench, and he was assisted by Mr. Justice Powell and Mr. Justice William Henry Alcock.

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[16] A variation of this story, (which appears to have been current in early times), is given in Joseph Pickering: *Inquiries of an Emigrant*. 1831. April 2, 1826.

The magistrates of York were William Jarvis and William Willcocks, and it would appear that they had many crimes and misdemeanours to deal with. The *Gazette* contains numerous notices of robberies, even the magistrates and high officials being the victims on some occasions. In the issue of June 5, 1802, Mr. Justice Alcock offers $40 reward for the conviction of the person who stole from his "farm near the Garrison a number of iron teeth from two harrows". He states that the culprit was thought to have been a deserter from the garrison, who had sold the teeth to two blacksmiths in York.[75]

In 1803 Peter Russell offered five guineas reward for the apprehension of the thieves who stole from his barn near the town "a turkey hen, with her brood of six half-grown young ones";[76] while Magistrate Jarvis announced that he would pay $50 for information leading to the conviction of the persons who stole from his "improved grounds" a number of fruit trees.[77] John McGill once had a quantity of onions and melons stolen from his garden, while Sarah McBride missed "a fine ruffled shirt" from her house.

The punishments of the time were, as in Europe, very severe. The death penalty was in force for a large number of crimes, including forgery and counterfeiting. In 1800 a man was executed in York for forging a note, and it is recorded that "with unparalleled fortitude he approached the place of execution! and to the last appeared much resigned to his unhappy fate".[78] Two years earlier, in November, 1798, a man was sentenced to be burned in the hand for grand larceny,[79] the law as to branding being part of the English criminal code adopted in Upper Canada on the formation of the province. Whipping was a common punishment for petty larceny, while in August, 1801, a thief was banished from Upper Canada for seven years.[80]

The old English punishment of standing in the pillory was also in vogue in early York. Elizabeth Ellis was sentenced in 1804 to six months' imprisonment, and in addition "to stand in the pillory twice during the said imprisonment, on two different market days, opposite the Market-House in the town of York, for the space of two hours each time".[81] The stocks, or framework in which people stood when sentenced to the pillory, remained in the market-place until 1834, when, with the whipping-post, they were destroyed during a riot occasioned by the particularly wild elections at the time of the creation of the city of Toronto.

There are, of course, records of tragedies in the town of York and its environs. It was not uncommon at that time to redress private grievances by resort to duels, and on January 3, 1800, Upper Canada's first Attorney-General,
no
✓ John White, was fatally injured in a duel with John Small, Clerk of the Executive Council; Small appeared in court, but was acquitted. Joseph Willcocks of York was engaged in a duel in 1801, but before it had proceeded far he was arrested by Sheriff Alexander Macdonell. It is interesting to know that Willcocks succeeded Macdonell as Sheriff in 1805, but was dismissed from his office in 1807 because he was too outspoken against the government. During the War of 1812 Willcocks fought gallantly in the British army at Queenston Heights, and then, angered at the persecution to which he was subjected by his political enemies, turned traitor and joined the American forces, being killed in action at Fort Erie on September 5, 1814.

Duels of another variety are occasionally recorded in the *Gazette*. Though no court of marital relations existed at that early period, nor were any divorces granted, yet an occasional notice of the following kind was necessary, for human nature has varied but little through the centuries:

"Whereas my wife Sarah refuses to go live with me on my farm on Yonge Street, where I have for her a comfortable house, and as I am not able to support her in town, from the high price of provisions and the heavy expense

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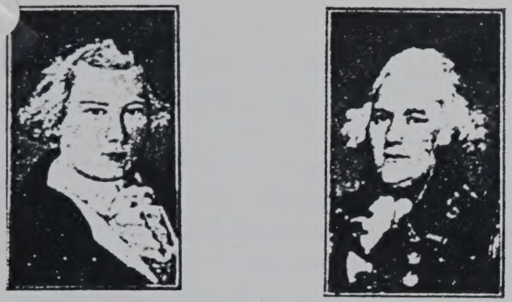
[75] *Ibid.*, June 5, 1802.
[76] *Ibid.*, August 20, 1803.
[77] *Ibid.*, May 10, 1800.
[78] *Ibid.*, May 17, 1800.
[79] *Ibid.*, November 17 and December 1, 1798.

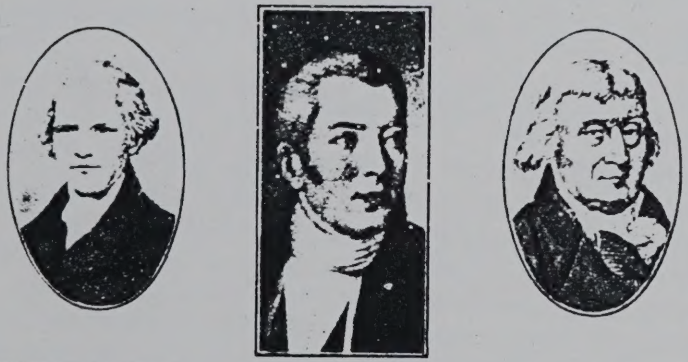
[80] *Ibid.*, August 29, 1801.
[81] Quoted in Scadding's *Toronto of Old*, p. 42.

* Granted a lot of land – See lots [illegible]



Hon. Alexander Grant

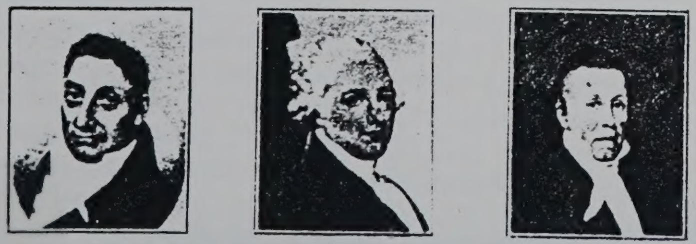
Secretary William Jarvis



Chief Justice Osgoode

Hon. Alexander Macdonell

Hon. Peter Russell



Hon. Robert Hamilton

Hon. D. W. Smith

Hon. James Bâby

MEMBERS OF SIMCOE'S ADMINISTRATION, 1792-6

Robertson, though the last-named did not attend. At Kingston the first steps were taken to organise the Legislative Council. There, too, was issued the Royal Proclamation which divided Upper Canada into counties and set forth the allotment of their representatives to the first parliament; this document established representative government in the province, and the date of its issuance, July 16, 1792, is the occasion which should be remembered as the birthday of our democratic institutions. Great efforts were made by the citizens of Kingston to persuade Simcoe to make their town his capital, but the Governor did not change his plans, and soon after proceeded by the schooner *Onondaga* to Niagara.

When Colonel and Mrs. Simcoe arrived at Niagara on July 26, 1792, the buildings known as Navy Hall were being repaired and renovated for their occupation; this was obviously necessary, for they were little better than sheds. The alterations had not, however, been completed, so three marquees were pitched to provide temporary accommodation. From the point of view of architecture Navy Hall was very plain and ordinary, almost as primitive in construction as the log cabin of the pioneer settler. The buildings were four in number and stood on the shore of Niagara River, just below the site upon which Fort George was built in 1796. They were originally erected for the use of the commanders of the sloops-of-war on Lake Ontario, especially for the housing of stores. Two of the buildings, Freemasons' Hall and Butler's Barracks, were used during the first session of parliament.

The first Legislative Council met in Freemasons' Hall, and was composed of nine members: Chief Justice William Osgoode, James (Jacques) Bâby, Robert Hamilton, Richard Cartwright Jr., John Munro, Alexander Grant, Peter Russell, William Robertson and Richard Duncan, the last two being absentees. Of the seven who attended the council meetings Chief Justice Osgoode was chosen Speaker.

The first Legislative Assembly was composed of sixteen members, some districts sending more than one. The members were as follows: Attorney-General John White (Leeds and Frontenac), John Macdonell (Glengarry), Ephriam Jones (Grenville), David William Smith (Suffolk and

Essex), Hugh Macdonell (Glengarry), William Macomb (Kent), Jeremiah French (Stormont), Alexander Campbell (Dundas), Benjamin Pawling (Lincoln), Nathaniel Pettit (Durham, York and Lincoln), Hazelton Spencer (Lennox, Hastings and Northumberland), Francis Bâby (Kent), Isaac Swayze (Lincoln), Joshua Booth (Addington and Ontario), Parshall Terry (Norfolk and Lincoln), and Philip Dorland (Prince Edward County, and Township of Adolphus); of these the last three were absentees. Dorland was a Quaker and refused to be sworn, so his seat was declared vacant and Peter Van Alstine elected to fill the vacancy. The Speaker of the Assembly was John Macdonell.

The Act of the Imperial Government which regulated the qualifications of voters and members stipulated that members must own a dwelling-house and lot of the annual value of £5 sterling. They had to be British subjects, and not ministers of either the Protestant or the Roman church. The qualifications of the electors who sent representatives to the first (and many a later) parliament were very definite in theory, for any male might vote who was the possessor of a freehold in land of the value of at least forty shillings sterling. The spirit of the rule appears to have been, like the custom of heavy drinking at funeral wakes in Denmark, "more honour'd in the breach than the observance". In Stormont County, for example, the votes polled at the first and second elections were greater in number than the population of the county. The explanation lies in the fact that one's deed did not need to be registered in those primitive days, nor need he have held his land any specified time prior to the election; so the candidates had agents stationed below Petite Pointe Maligne to see which could capture the most bateaumen, and each was given the deed of a lot of the "backwoods" of the county, recorded his vote the right way, was served with plenty to eat and drink, and went on his way rejoicing. The candidate who won in this instance had been astute enough to prepare beforehand a large supply of printed deeds, and his foresight enabled him to outdistance his opponent quite handily. It may be said, however, that throughout Upper Canada as a whole an effort was made to send the best men in each district, for the inhabitants were not then divided into political parties which might have restricted their freedom of selection.

Of the sixteen members of the first Assembly thirteen were of Loyalist origin, and ten had seen service in the military or naval forces of the Crown. The Speaker, John Macdonell, had been a captain in Butler's Rangers; his brother Hugh, a lieutenant in the King's Royal Regiment of New York. Ephriam Jones was a Loyalist from Massachusetts; and William Macomb a Detroit Loyalist, that town remaining British until 1796. Jeremiah French had served in Sir John Johnson's Regiment during the Revolutionary War. Benjamin Pawling and Nathaniel Pettit were Loyalists from Pennsylvania, while Isaac Swayze and Joshua Booth were New York Loyalists. Hazleton Spencer had been an officer in the King's Royal Regiment, and Parshall Terry had held a commission in Butler's Rangers. Francis Bâby was a son of James Bâby of Detroit, a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils. Peter Van Alstine, who replaced Dorland, was the man who had been in charge of the immigration of Quakers to the Bay of Quinté district. Of the other three members, Alexander Campbell was a Scotchman, John White, the Attorney-General, an Englishman, and D. W. Smith, later Surveyor-General, had been an English soldier.

not ours

John White and David William Smith gave the Lieutenant-Governor the best support of any of the members, for they were not favourable to democracy; White, particularly, could see no good in the political attitude of the Loyalist majority. On the whole Simcoe was very disappointed with his Assembly. He would have preferred that they had been aristocrats, who might have seen eye to eye with himself; instead he found most of them to be men who "kept but one table, that is, who dined in common with their servants".[4]

The Governor changed the name of his capital to Newark, and thither the members of the first legislature of Upper Canada journeyed in September, 1792. Some of them travelled by government schooner from Kingston, or made their way by bateau along the shores of Lake Ontario or

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[4] Simcoe to Dundas, November 4, 1792; *Simcoe Papers*, Vol. I, p. 249.

1776. It was an office of distinction, but no salary, and one of the chief advantages derived from holding it was that it enabled the holder to secure for himself, his family, and his friends, large grants of land.

The Wallace patent comprised 28,000 acres, and in order to comply with the regulation limiting holdings, it was issued to twenty-eight persons, each to hold a twenty-eighth part.* Many of these men were prominent citizens of New York in the eighteenth century. Some were merchants like the Wallaces themselves; others were journalists, and others physicians. A sketch of the lives of several of them will show how they were intimately acquainted, if not associated, with a merchant and councillor like Hugh Wallace and a prominent official like Gouldsborough Banyar.

Mr. Low had grown up in the office of Hayman Levy, an eminent trader, who taught John Jacob Astor the fur business, and before that had started Mr. Low in business by selling him a hogshead of rum with which to trade with Indians. Mr. Low, in his time, became a great local magnate, and the firm of Low & Wallace, of 216 Water Street, was widely known. Mr. Low became owner of extensive lands in Jefferson and Lewis counties, including the sites of Adams and Watertown, and after him was named Lowville. He was a member of the convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States.

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* These persons were Alexander Wallace, John Kennedy, John Shaw, John Hamilton, Hamilton Young, Robert Ross Waddell, Robert Alexander, Smith Ramadge, Anthony Van Dam, Theodore Marston, David Mathews, Charles Ramadge, John Miller, William Park, John Moore, James Stewart, Nicholas Low, Francis Stephens, John Fairholme, William Stepple, William Newton, Hugh Gaine, John Rice, James Leadbetter, Charles Morse, Peter Middleton, James Rivington, and Robert McAlpin.

The First Settlers

1720–1772

IN the coming of the Scotch-Irish to the headwaters of the Susquehanna, the New York frontier received a new and vital addition to those human forces which preserved and expanded its patriotism during the Revolution. To the valley of the Mohawk and Schoharie men of this race had not yet come. Following the Dutch, who at Schenectady had planted the first considerable settlement beyond Albany, the Palatines, about 1720–25, or thirty years after Schenectady was destroyed by Frontenac, had arrived in those valleys—a hardy, industrious, stolid race, by whom wealth was easily wrested from the fertile soil that extended southward to Schoharie from Fort Hunter and which bordered the Mohawk for many miles around German Flatts. A few of the English left Manhattan Island and the Hudson Valley for the Mohawk, and to the Mohawk, long after the first Palatines, came others of German and Dutch origin, forsaking their earlier homes in the Hudson Valley. Following Sir William Johnson in the middle of the century also came a few Irishmen with many Scotch Highlanders of the Catholic faith. But these were mainly traders or officials and were seldom or never agriculturalists. These additions left the bulk of the Mohawk and Schoharie population still German and Dutch — perhaps three-fourths of it.

During the last years of the French War, the industry of these people had been so productive that, between the mouth of East Canada Creek and Tribes Hill, nearly 500 dwellings had been erected, with excellent farm buildings and large areas of land in an excellent state of cultivation. When the Revolution began, the whole valley was populous enough to be divided into four districts for organization and defence, each with a committee of its own—the Mohawk, Canajoharie, Palatine, and German Flatts districts, the latter being the most westerly and having for its chief village a town of seventy houses. How thickly populated the valley had become may again be seen in the chain of forts which stood there in 1779. Beginning with Fort Hunter and extending westward, there were in the order named, Fort Johnson, Fort Harrison, Fort Hendrick, Fort Herkimer, Fort Dayton, Fort Schuyler (on the site of Utica), Fort Stanwix, and Fort Bute, while, what was known as the Royal Block House, stood near the eastern end of Oneida Lake.

Connecticut
1768 - ~~Ct~~ in Wyoming

From these three elements—Palatine, Scotch-Irish, and Dutch—came the men who bore the shock of war when the conflict with England began. It was they who became patriots almost to a man; it was the houses and crops of these which were burned; it was they who were murdered or made prisoners, they who took the field against the invader and died at Oriskany, Klock's Field, and Johnstown. The ranks of the Tories, meanwhile, were recruited from the English, Irish, and Scotch Highlanders. By men of those races were organized the forces which, with Brant and his Indians, effected the massacres of Cherry Valley and Wyoming; burned Springfield, German Flatts, and Canajoharie; reconverted into a wilderness the upper Susquehanna; laid waste the Schoharie Valley and spread desolation through almost every settlement on the Mohawk west of Schenectady.

Among these frontier communities the ones planted by the Scotch-Irish on the Susquehanna formed the extreme outpost of civilization in New York. Of all these regions theirs was the most sparsely settled; they were themselves the most remote from contact with other settlers, occupying as they did the high lands of a new water-shed; it was upon them that the Indian and Tory raids in the Border Wars were first to fall, and it was their lands alone that became entirely depopulated—a state of annihilation to which no other part of the frontier was reduced. Who these men were and whence and how they came may therefore be set forth in detail.

The Scotch-Irish comprise a people who have exerted wide influence in American history. In the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth century they were maintaining in the north of Ireland the stern faith of Calvin. Besides following the teachings of John Knox, they had a political faith devoted to freedom, as opposed to the oppression exercised by the English Crown. Unable to find peace at home, they at last concluded to emigrate to the New World. About 1720 the movement westward had reached large proportions. Douglas Campbell says, "ships enough could not be found to carry from Ulster to America the men who were unwilling to live except in the air of religious freedom." This migration bears, at several points, an interesting resemblance to the great Palatine influx from which the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys, as we have seen, had received their strongest tide of population.

Mr. Campbell shows that the Scotch-Irish influx continued half a century. Entire districts were almost depopulated. Within a period of two years, some 30,000 crossed the Atlantic. Many were well-to-do farmers. Others had been bred in Scottish universities. As a class, they were the equal of any emigrants who in those times sailed out of English harbors. To that Scotch-Irish emigration America owed General Henry Knox, John Stark, Anthony Wayne, John Sullivan, and George, James, and DeWitt Clinton. From the same stock were descended Patrick Henry and Daniel Boone, and so were Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, Hugh McCulloch, and Horace Greeley. Of those who landed in Boston from five ships in August, 1710, the larger portion went to New Hampshire, and in their settlement revived the name of the Irish town of Londonderry, memorable to them for its siege. Others went to Worcester, and others to Maine.

From the New Hampshire settlement came the men who built up Cherry Valley,* the first permanent settlement within the domain of Otsego County. John Lindesay having obtained in 1738 his patent of 18,000 acres, came into the country at once with his wife, his father-in-law, Lieutenant Congreve, and a few servants. Lindesay had been Naval Officer of the Port of New York, as well as

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* Cherry Valley then formed part of Albany County, but from Albany in 1772 Tryon County was taken off and named in honor of the British Governor of New York, William Tryon, only to be called Montgomery County a few years later, after the patriot soldier who fell at Quebec. Tryon County, as formed in 1772, embraced a large territory that has since been divided into several counties—Otsego, Montgomery, Herkimer, Fulton, Hamilton, St. Lawrence, Lewis, Oswego, Jefferson, and parts of Delaware, Oneida, and Schoharie.

Journal of a Tour in 1769

THE journal of Smith and Wells gives us not only an authentic description of settlements, but many other facts important to a history of the pioneers. Smith and his companion had left their home early in May for New York, and had proceeded up the Hudson in a sloop to Albany, and by the Mohawk to Canajoharie, or "to Scramlin's, which is nearly opposite to Col. Fry's." The journal often shows us where roads had been opened. The condition of the frontier roads proves, as nothing else can, how deep an impression had been made on the wilderness.

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First of all roads to the Susquehanna, was the Cherry Valley one from Canajoharie, by way of Bowman's Creek, which had been begun soon after the founding of the settlement in 1740. A quarter of a century later Smith described it as from the Mohawk "the only wagon road to Lake Otsego." As early as 1768 there existed a road westward from Catskill to the Susquehanna, which we must accept as the beginning of a turnpike completed more than thirty years afterward. While at Catskill in May, Smith learned that the Duchess of Gordon and Colonel Morris had just gone by that route "to Cherry Valley and the Susquehanna with two wagons." On reaching Cherry Valley himself, Smith was informed that "there is a route from Kaatskill across to this line, namely: from Kaatskill to Akery, 8 miles; to Batavia, 12; to Red Kill, 8; from Red Kill to a lake at the head of the Mohawks, or main branch

of the river Delaware,* 12, and to Otego about 16; in all 56 miles." At "Yokums" Smith learned from Mr. van Valkenburg of a path to Schoharie, "the same which Col. Morris and the Duchess of Gordon lately took on horseback with their retinue."

1768

1768

1768

At this period a primitive road also existed from Cherry Valley westward to Springfield, while another went to the settlement at Middlefield. Over the route from the Mohawk to Cherry Valley went many Connecticut people who, before the Revolution, settled in the Wyoming Valley. With the settlements that followed the Fort Stanwix treaty, came roads in various parts of the country. In 1777 there existed not only a footpath down the valley from Otsego Lake, but "some thing of a road along the river."† Another ran from the upper Otego Creek Valley to Otsego Lake. Richard Smith, Nathaniel Edwards, and others built it in the summer of 1773. The lake at Richfield was then connected with Otsego Lake, and elsewhere forests had been opened and hills crossed in order to provide routes shorter than those which followed the courses of streams. These roads, however, were scarcely more than narrow lines of clearing through the wilderness. They represented one of the two extremes in roads, of which the other is represented by macadam and asphalt. But in the Smith journal we find many other statements that light up the history of what to this generation is an unknown period in Susquehanna history, and among them these:

13th May, 1769—At Scramlin's we turned off from the river, pursuing a S. W. course for Cherry Valley. . . .

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* Summit Lake is probably here referred to, but it is the head of the Charlotte instead of the Delaware.

† Affidavit of John Dresler, in the "Brant MSS." of the Draper Collection.

Schoharie and the Mohawk Laid Waste

1780

IN the work of the Sullivan expedition the gravest calamity in their recorded history had overwhelmed the Iroquois. Of their civilization, indeed, little remained save the Iroquois themselves. But they were not to submit in despair. In the ensuing years of the war, they descended again and again upon the white man's frontier, leaving it at last quite as desolate as their own land had become. In Oriskany had been begun the Border Wars, but in Sullivan's expedition new and deeper bitterness was infused into the heart and soul of the Indian. Appalling ruin at their hands was now to overwhelm the settlements. But the Indians alone were not to bring on this desolation. Substantial co-operation came from the British.

Henceforth, indeed, the main war-scenes were to be found in the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys. Little remained to be destroyed on the upper Susquehanna. That region had become a land of silence and desolation. Its houses were in ruins; its people had fled; its soil had been given up to Nature's wild growths. Guarded as the Mohawk still was at Fort Schuyler, the Susquehanna remained a highway, however, by which the Indians and Tories could most safely reach the settlements lying north and east.

Sullivan had scarcely returned to the seaboard when complaints were made from the Mohawk Valley of Indians who "eat our provisions whilst they watch to cut our throats." Several persons had been murdered and scalped in October of this same year. On October 20th scouts brought word that Fort Schuyler was threatened. Sir John Johnson was said to be on his way with a thousand Indians, besides a large body of regular troops supplied with heavy cannon. While the regulars attacked the fort, the Indians were to ravage the Mohawk Valley.* Nothing came of this report in 1779, but in the following year it was amply confirmed.

The enemy did not even wait for spring to open before beginning the work of retaliation. In the month of February, when there was fine snow-shoe weather, a small force reached German Flatts, where one woman was killed and three were wounded. In March a party of thirty, also on snow-shoes, invaded a settlement north of Palatine, killed one person, made several prisoners, and burned some buildings. They were painted after the fashion of Indians, but were supposed to be Tories. Early in April, Indians were hovering about Fort Schuyler. Scouts were sent out to watch them in seven different places. Brant, himself, came on from Niagara and during the same month, with forty-three Indians and seven Tories, reached Harpersfield, where he surprised Captain Alexander Harper in a "sugar-bush."

Harper was approached as he was bending over to adjust his snow-shoes. When holding his tomahawk in the air above Harper's head, Brant discovered for the first time who the man before him was. "Ah, Captain Harper," said he, "is it thee? I am sorry to find thee here." "Why are you sorry, Captain Brant?" asked Harper. "Because I must kill thee," answered Brant. Harper remarked there was "no use in killing those who submitted peaceably." Brant then having had Harper bound as a prisoner, attacked the settlement at Harpersfield and burned it. Three men were killed and eight were made prisoners, the party proceeding across the hills to the head of the Delaware. From camp Harper wrote to his wife that Brant "uses me and all those taken along with me exceeding well." Brant had assured him that an exchange of prisoners could be "easily obtained," providing the Americans were willing to co-operate in the matter.

With other prisoners, Harper was taken to Niagara, where he spent many months in captivity. Patchin, in his narrative of the journey as given to Priest, says that "from this place [Cookoze] we crossed through the wilderness, over hills and mountains the most difficult to be conceived of, till we came to a place called Ochquago, on the Susquehanna River, which had been an Indian settlement before the war. Here they constructed several rafts out of old logs, which they fastened together with withes and poles passing crosswise, on which, after untying us, we were placed, themselves managing to steer." Aboard these rafts the party proceeded to Tioga Point and thence by land to Niagara.

While at Oghwaga Brant invaded the Ulster district. Houses were burned, farms plundered, and captives taken. Brant also sent out a detachment of eleven warriors to seize prisoners in Minisink. Five men were taken. At night, when the Indians were

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*Clinton Manuscripts.

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had not entirely reclaimed. Here and there stood the remains of log dwellings that might be reconstructed and made habitable. On the upper waters, lay one of the fairest portions of a fair valley, with fertile lands bordering the Great Island River. Over these lands and along the surface of this river it was certain th[illegible]he warlike Iroquois would roam no more.

The valley had continued to be a resort of Indians more or less hostile until the treaty of peace was signed. Brant is known to have been at Oghwaga and Unadilla, and it is also true that wandering companies of Indians were there until a period long subsequent to the peace; but these survivals were few in numbers, and were often Oneidas friendly to the settlers. Cooper delayed the farewell of Leather Stocking to Otsego Lake until 1794, when he put these words into his hero's mouth:

> When I look about me at these hills where I used to could count sometimes twenty smokes, curling over the tree tops from the Delaware camps, it raises mournful thoughts to think that not a red skin is left of them all, unless it be a drunken vagabond from the Oneidas, or them Yankee Indians who, they say, be moving up from the sea shore. Well, well! The time has come at last and I must go.

Men born to toil and veterans of war took up these new tasks in the wilderness. The first to enter the Susquehanna, came from the Mohawk and Schoharie. A number arrived between the surrender of Cornwallis and the conclusion of the treaty of peace, including Isaac Collier, who entered by Otsego Lake as early as 1782. Mr. Collier was of German descent and before the war had been a taxpayer in the Mohawk Valley. He was the father of Peter Collier. On the Susquehanna he opened a hotel, at the settlement since called after him, where pioneers long found food and shelter.

To Cherry Valley in the spring of 1783, returned Colonel Campbell with his fa[illegible]find the settlement in a state of utter desolation. He proceeded to erect a log-hut, which, a [illegible] months later, sheltered distinguished visitors. In the summer of this year George Washington ascended the Mohawk and passed over to the head waters of the Susquehanna. In a letter to the Marquis de Chastelleux, dated in October, he says he "traversed the country to the eastern branch of the Susquehanna and viewed the Lake Otsego and the portage between that lake and the Mohawk River at Canajoharie." He was accompanied by Governor Clinton, General Hand and others, and spent a night under Colonel Campbell's roof. On the following morning, he went over to the lake. At the Campbell residence, Auchenbreck, visitors may see to-day the site of an apple-tree beneath which Washington drank tea. Governor Clinton remarked to Mrs. Campbell during the visit, that her sons would some day make fine soldiers; to which she answered that she "hoped her country never would need their services." "I hope so, too," said Washington, "for I have seen enough of war."

Washington was much impressed by the opportunity which the valley gave for communication by water with regions south and west. The same conclusions seem to have been reached by him that had been formed by Cadwallader Colden nearly fifty years before when Surveyor-General of the Prov-

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Canada onto the world's stage, and Ontario right along with it. In a scramble to find a place in the new order of the post-war world Ontario stretched itself commercially and industrially both within and without Canada. The result has been the gradual abandoning of traditional ideas and beliefs in favour of a new international style. If a date were to be placed on the death of Old Ontario it would have to be 1961 with the demise of Leslie Frost's government. Thereafter, to paraphrase Professor Arthur Lower, there would no longer be Ontarians, only people who happened to live in Ontario.

"Ut Incepit Fidelis Sic Permanet," claims the province's official motto, and not without reason. Loyal Ontario began and loyal she remains. But loyal to what?

Ontario, one might argue, at one time was loyal to France, although the scrappy band of fur traders and bored soldiers who occupied it couldn't have expressed much of an Ontarian opinion. Champlain had explored the area early in the seventeenth century and missionaries had established themselves among the Indians, notably the Hurons centred at Sainte-Marie near modern Midland — a settlement recently uncovered and restored with a large measure of success by the Ontario government. But in 1649 the Huron nation was largely destroyed by the Iroquois, and some of the Jesuit fathers who had built and operated Sainte-Marie joined the long list of martyrs to their faith. Permanent European settlement was not a feature of the French occupation, but commerce and war necessitated the posts and fortresses that gave what scant substance there was to the French claim to the area. The nuclei of modern Toronto, Windsor, Niagara, and — most significant at the time — Kingston were all established in this way.

During the Seven Years' War (from 1756 to 1763) the French abandoned most of the region to their English foes without a serious struggle. The exceptions were Fort Frontenac (now Kingston), which was taken by an Anglo-American force in 1758, blown up, and then abandoned, and Fort Niagara, which succumbed a year later after a short siege. When Governor Vaudreuil surrendered Montreal to the British in September 1760, a year after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, he was effectively surrendering Ontario too; the French fact was not to become significant in Ontario again until the twentieth century. After the peace of 1763, loyalty meant fealty to George III, his heirs and successors. What would become Ontario was absorbed into His Majesty's not especially loyal province of Quebec as its borders were stretched westward beyond Lake Ontario into the Ohio Valley.

Ontario's loyalty to Britain really dates from the American Revolution. In 1775 the permanent population of the province consisted of a handful of French-speaking settlers in the Detroit/Windsor region. The revolution changed everything. Neither the fourteenth colony, Nova Scotia, nor the newest, Quebec, swung to the American cause. Montreal's few hundred English merchants were fearful of losing their commercial links with Britain if they threw in with the Americans, and were equally frightened of American competition for their formidable fur empire which arched through Ontario's lakes and rivers as it made its way west. Inevitably the definition of loyalty had a self-serving economic edge.

Mostly after War

By 1783 — the end of the American revolt — what had been a trickle of wartime refugees became a stream. An estimated thirty thousand came to Nova Scotia (which some labelled in disgust "Nova Scarcity") and almost doubled the size of that colony. What was shortly to become Upper Canada saw an influx of five to six thousand. These refugees were the first sizable body of permanent settlers to occupy the area, and they were to set a tone and to fashion an ideology which became the crucible for Ontario's future.

Contemporary Ontario is often labelled as conservative, stable, wealthy, smug, and confident. In the eighteenth century Loyalist Ontario was conservative, unstable, poor, maybe a trifle smug, but with hardly any confidence. These traits came from the Loyalist migrations, or, at least, can be traced to what some scholars call "the Loyalist myth." It is worthwhile to distinguish the Loyalist reality from the mythology.

The Loyalists who made their way ~~into the western parts of the old province of Quebec~~ were mostly American frontiersmen from Pennsylvania and New York. They were very different from the townspeople of the eastern seaboard ~~who moved~~ to Nova Scotia, the West Indies, or Britain itself. The frontiersmen were experienced woodsmen and well aware of the rough life that awaited them. A few had suffered terrorist treatment at the hands of their American neighbours; some had even been tarred, feathered, and run on rails. All were uprooted, ~~or uprooted themselves~~, and ~~became~~ displaced persons or refugees. As such, in both Nova Scotia and Quebec, they were not badly treated. The Loyalist myth has it that these sturdy folk overcame great odds to establish themselves and a better world in the north. This

Sadly, wives and little children become uprooted as well.

EARLY

was hardly the case. Few refugees anywhere have been treated as well. At first Quebec Governor Frederick Haldimand attempted to settle the Loyalists on the French seigneuries of the old régime. But this proved unsatisfactory; the seigneurial was a feudal system of land tenure complete with fiefs, duties, and binding obligations. It was a distastefully foreign concept to the refugees, and Haldimand, although he had some doubts because of possible Indian objections, finally determined to settle them in the western reaches of Quebec province. The local Indian tribes, and the "forgotten" loyalists — those Indians, Mohawks and other Iroquois, who under their leader Joseph Brant had sided with Britain in the revolution — eventually agreed either to sell their lands or to live beside the white men. It was a decision they would come to regret.

So Haldimand began his Loyalist initiative. At first he settled disbanded regiments in ranges of quickly-surveyed townships stretched along the American frontier so that in the event of war these veterans would form a firm defensive barrier. Three main areas were selected: along the Upper St. Lawrence; around Kingston and the Bay of Quinte; and the Niagara Peninsula. A fourth area, near Detroit, was considered, but the surrender of that post to the States postponed development.

Land—the only commodity the Imperial government had — was granted in lots from a hundred to a thousand acres. The allotments were based on status and rank: heads of families received a hundred acres; field officers up to, and eventually more than, a thousand acres. Additionally, clothing, tools, and provisions were supplied for three years to help prime the settlement pump. Although there were hard times, particularly the "hungry year" of 1789, these were very favoured displaced persons. And not a few disgruntled Americans—some would say land-hungry—moved north to join them. By 1790 Western Quebec could boast a population of ten thousand in an area that a dozen years before had been a howling wilderness.

No matter where they came from the Loyalists soon showed that they had been in the forefront of political protest in the old Thirteen Colonies. Although they were not prepared to fight a war for colonial rights they would take every legal and constitutional means at their disposal to better their lives. Some were firmly committed to Imperial Britain, others had fought in the war for the King's cause, but most were simply small "c" conservatives who preferred familiar British institutions to American republicanism and democracy.

Britain was well aware of this. When constitutional demands were voiced in Quebec the mother country responded cautiously, willing to grant her loyal subjects a certain amount of autonomy but very careful not to permit the "excess" of democracy which many British colonial officials and parliamentarians felt had contributed to the American revolt. Britain's measured response to the Loyalist and mercantile demand for a stronger say in government became the founding statute of Ontario—the Constitutional or Canada Act of 1791.

This new Imperial act superseded the old Quebec Act of 1774. It split the colony into two separate provinces—Upper Canada to the west, and Lower Canada to the east along the St. Lawrence, where the inhabitants were mixed but predominantly *Canadien*. The act established in each province a lieutenant-governor, an executive council to advise him, a legislative council to act as an upper house, and a representative assembly. Policy was to be directed by the executive, which was responsible not to the assembly but to the Crown; it *was* British government but the model was a throwback to the Stuarts a century and a half before. No democratic spirit bubbled in the colonial assemblies: power filtered from the top; the lieutenant-governor and his chosen council reigned supreme; and the Anglican church was institutionalized in the provinces to tie the colonies more firmly to the mother country. (It was noted in Britain that the Anglican episcopate had never been formally established in the Thirteen Colonies.) A permanent appropriation of funds "for the Support and Maintenance of a Protestant Clergy" was guaranteed by devoting one-seventh of all lands in the province as reserves, with the proceeds from the sale or rental going to the church. Another seventh was set aside for Crown use, that is for Crown revenue, funds that the administration could raise from the colony without consulting the local assembly. These Crown and Clergy reserves were considered the firmest barrier against American influence.

But the land question that interested most settlers was not the reserves nor the many thousands of acres set aside for school or defence use. What pleased them in the Constitutional Act, and affected them most, was that the old feudal, seigneurial land-tenure system of the old régime was gone for good in the upper province. Land would be granted in the English manner—in "free and common soccage"; that is, freehold tenure.

The franchise, for the time, was fairly wide. A holding with an annual worth of two pounds entitled one to the vote in rural areas; in towns it went to those who owned a residence with a yearly value of five pounds or who rented one at ten pounds per annum. In Upper Canada membership in the Assembly numbered not less than sixteen (in more populous Lower Canada it was fifty) and the Legislative Council was made up of seven members (fifteen in Lower Canada).

The first leader of the government of this proud new province was Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe, ex-commander of the American loyalist Queen's Rangers Regiment, MP for Bath in the British Parliament, inheritor of substantial wealth, and an eighteenth-century English gentleman of the first stripe. Simcoe was a man with a mission; he wanted to establish in Upper Canada a "superior, more happy, and more polished form of government" not only to attract further immigrants but, in the most naïve fashion, to cause a "renewal of Empire" and so win Americans back into the British fold. In short, he set out to design and build a new society.

Simcoe has been called the "effervescent" governor and condemned for his unbridled enthusiasms. There is some truth to this. He was more soldier than politician and more tactician than strategist. Simcoe had troops build good primary roads in the province, principally Yonge and Dundas Streets, the former leading north to Lake Simcoe (named after his father, or so he said). He planned to remove the government from Newark (Niagara) to a more defensible site in the interior which he named London, but Lord Dorchester, the governor-in-chief of British North America, chose instead a location at the Lake Ontario end of the Toronto Portage. Simcoe made the best of it, remarking that there was better salmon fishing there anyway. He was a strong churchman and supported the cause of the Clergy Reserves. He successfully set the primitive provincial and local-government machinery in motion: land boards functioned, the judiciary began its rudimentary proceedings, in fact all the fledgeling institutions were operating when he left in 1796. But he had always been a soldier, and that was his downfall. For him Ontario was to be a bristling military centre—Fortress Ontario. But Lord Dorchester saw little reason to defend an unsettled appendage or to antagonize restless Indian allies, or to excite further the ambitious Americans to the South. Imperial Britain agreed—after all the colony of Upper Canada was expendable, not least because it was expensive to run (twenty thousand pounds a year) and it returned nothing. Canada for the British still meant Quebec, and Quebec was to be defended by the omnipotent Royal Navy at the cost of any inland colony.

Simcoe was followed by lesser men, men without the same enthusiasm or imagination. First Peter Russell, faint-hearted and uncertain, then Peter Hunter, General and busy commander of all British forces in North America, and then Francis Gore, brimming with unfulfilled promise. Gore was lieutenant-governor from 1806 to 1817, but he was absent from the province from 1811 to 1814, the crucial years of war with the United States.

Gore was present in the province, however, for a taste of its tumultuous politics, "puddle politics" to some, "squabbling in the wilderness" to others, but politics not to be dismissed. The Constitutional Act had created a party of favourites. Traditionally lieutenant-governors had chosen their executive and legislative councils from among men they could trust and understand, men who they felt shared the same solid, conservative values as themselves. Upper Canada was a raw frontier community, and those who were literate and capable of running the machinery of government frequently were not the best choices—almost always they were either old or new Loyalists or British colonial appointments. Whichever, they were decidedly less than radical in their political opinions. These men quickly became entrenched in their favoured positions. They became a kind of Tory party permanently in power. Efforts to dislodge them, indeed to throw up opposition of any sort, were few and disorganized before the War of 1812. Those who did argue the side of the popular assembly did so over the control of money bills, the right of the assembly to have full charge of all the revenues raised in the province. Early advocates of an extension of the assembly's powers were Robert Thorpe and Joseph Willcocks. They have generally been viewed as demagogues and smoke-makers, but increasingly the opinion is that they were part of the Whig reform tradition, transplanted to Upper Canada from Ireland. However, reform was to be cut short by the War of 1812.

That war is a kind of Holy War in Ontario's history. It is the chief repository of all the Ontario myths and no small number of Canadian ones. C. P. Stacey, Canada's dean of military history, has called it an event everyone can recall with satisfaction because everyone interprets it in his own way. For the Americans it was a second revolution, a war where they defeated the vaunted British navy, particularly on the Great Lakes, and, of course, the army at the Battle of New Orleans (fought, alas, after the peace was signed). For Canadians, and especially Upper Canadians, it was "Invasion Repulsed," a heroic homeland defence in the face of a bitter foe. And for the English, fully occupied with Napoleon, the War of 1812, that is, the American phase, is scarcely remembered at all. They don't even know it happened.

The point is that it was Ontario's war. Ontario was invaded, violated, and in parts occupied. And Ontario had a large fifth column—the province's population was eighty per cent American in origin—which caused extensive war damage in both economic and human terms.

The war was the breeding-place of Canadian heroes. Among them are soldier-martyr General Sir Isaac Brock, plucky Laura Secord and her cow, and the strong, capable citizen militia that rallied to throw back the Yankees. Despite individual and collective heroics, capturing Upper Canada—twisting the Lion's tail—proved difficult for one reason only: the British army. The British army was not a cohesive force led by brilliant officers; rather, they made fewer blunders than the Americans. The Americans overestimated the importance of Upper Canada and wasted time and money in the wilderness when they could have cut off supplies by drawing a steel ring around the St. Lawrence.

When the war ended Ontario had established another tradition, which would prove extremely durable: anti-Americanism, a keen refinement of the Loyalist stance. Besides, there was now a proved pantheon of heroes for the imagination to draw upon. Wartime service became a key to advancement and status in the Province. To have served — even, like some, to have surrendered gallantly — was a mark of honour. One of the great ironies is that the American invasion probably kept Ontario British. If war had not come the Americans might have conquered the colony by peaceful immigration. But war did come, and with it the revival of Loyalism.

Upper Canada, like the rest of the British Empire, became a different place after the Napoleonic Wars. The great folk movement of millions of people shifting across the Atlantic to America began, and lasted a century. Upper Canada claimed its share of settlers. The province and its economy were still very primitive and very much under the mercantile control of the City of London, but increasingly the commercial emphasis was shifting from fur to grain. As well, local industries were developing. Yet the economy was still fundamentally agrarian, and the sale or lease of land was still the biggest business whether it was conducted through the government, through the ever-plentiful land sharks, through distinguished ventures like the massive British-based Canada Company, or through eccentrics like Colonel Thomas Talbot, whose vast personal domain stretched along the north shore of Lake Erie. The society was equally simple and, to visitors such as Anna Jameson, fundamentally rude. The principal towns (York and Kingston) were little more than wharves, warehouses, and a few pretentious public buildings. And the politics, always the politics, were as vicious as they were intense.

The War of 1812 made the Upper Canadian world safe for oligarchy. Those few in a position of power moved to consolidate that strength and to assure its smooth transfer into equally safe hands when they passed on. Political radicalism was dead in the years following the war and conservatism entrenched itself in a peculiar form called the Family Compact. Was it any wonder that the oligarchy thrown up by the Constitutional Act became entrenched by that war, and was it any wonder thereafter that they celebrated the British connection at all costs? After all, it was that link that had saved them. For these men and for their anointed leader, John Strachan (confidant and adviser to Lieutenant-Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland and eventually the first Anglican Bishop of Toronto), the war was the sacred touchstone, the proof of one's acceptability.

The clique succeeded, however, as all cliques do, because it controlled patronage—it was more a persuasion than a party. The members had a Tory cast of mind more than anything else, and the names of a few prominent families — the Boultons, the Robinsons, the Jarvises, and so on — soon dominated everything. Many observers have labelled the Compact as corrupt, but this is not so. Recent evidence reveals that the group was rigorous and methodical in its administration, and thorough in its investigation of irregularities. The Compact had a strong sense of civic duty. For example, their support of the Welland Canal project, in the conviction that it would serve all Upper Canadian society, demonstrated their concern for the public good. But they were an oligarchy in a democratic age.

Opposition to the Compact was ill-organized and fragmented until the 1820s. Although it was not tinged with the racism evident in Lower Canada, the struggle between the Tory clique and reform in Upper Canada was fierce. Agitator Robert Gourlay, the celebrated "Banished Briton," was the Compact's first victim. He would be followed by others—the Bidwells, Mr. Justice John Willis, and, of course, William Lyon Mackenzie.

Mackenzie in a way is a typical Ontario figure. Popularly considered a radical, he was in effect a camouflaged conservative. Like Stephen Leacock's knight who rode off in all directions, Mackenzie seems to have had no set policies except a vague commitment to the "common man." Frequently, he is thought to have been the chief advocate of Responsible Government, but he didn't really know the meaning of the phrase and generally favoured American republicanism. He apparently wanted for Upper Canada a kind of Jeffersonian dream, and envisaged a province composed of yeomen-farmers wedded to the soil, firmly patriotic, and ready to become political minutemen in the American colonial mould. He, like the Compact he so vigorously opposed, was a stranger to the forces and values that eventually dominated the nineteenth century: liberalism and industrialism. The rebellion that he plotted misfired when it broke out in 1837 because, like so many politicians after him, he failed to understand the basic conservative nature of Upper Canadians.

Perhaps if Mackenzie had realized that whiggery could be considered a form of conservatism and had appealed to the populace in those terms, his violent phase would have been unnecessary. As it was, that lesson had to be taught again a decade later, in the 1840s, by the solemn, short-lived dynasty of William and Robert Baldwin. But, of course, the impetus for real change could come from only one place. It might be accelerated by advocates in the province but fundamental change had to be initiated across the Atlantic in Imperial London.

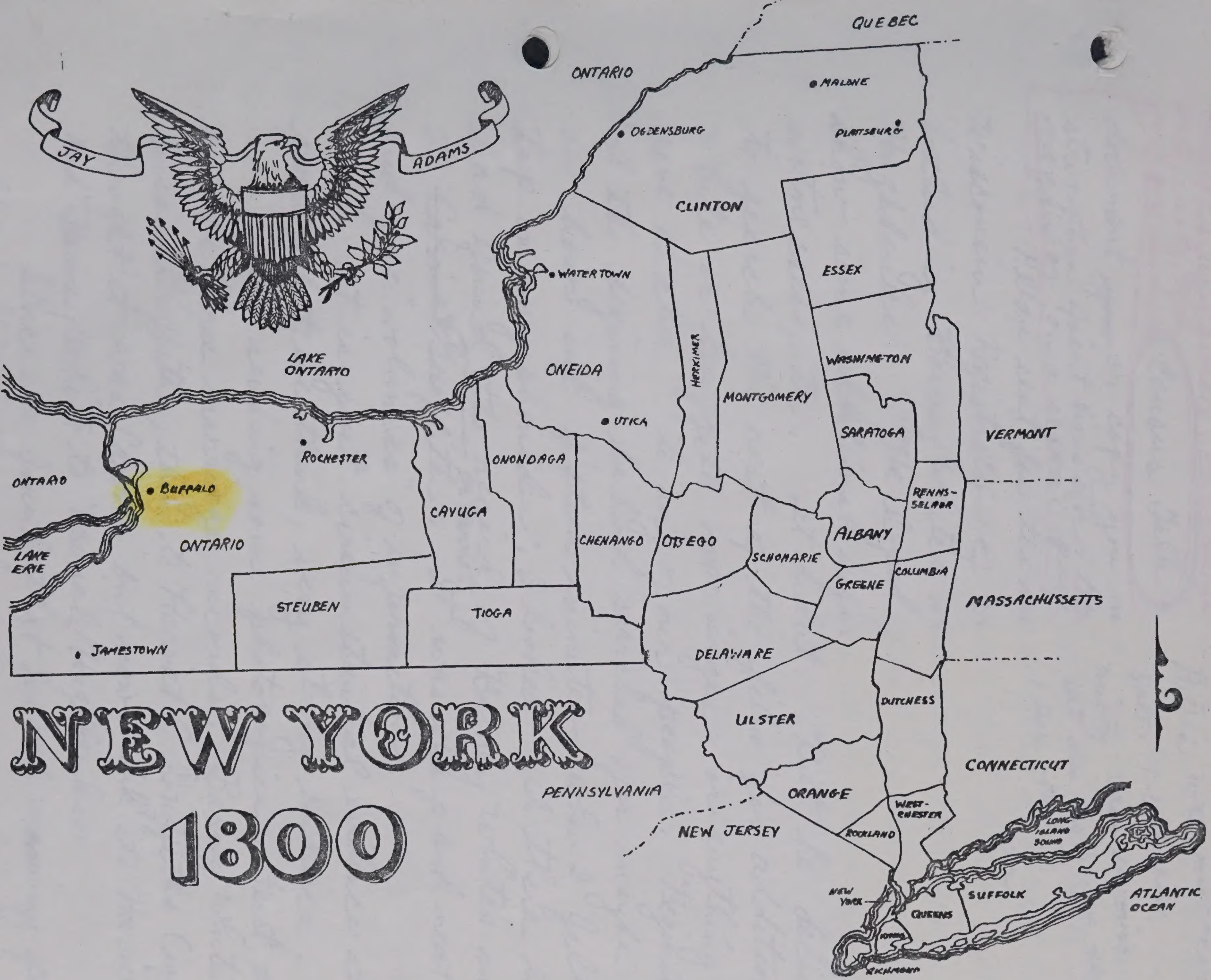
It came in the form of a slightly foppish, egotistical young English aristocrat, John George Lambton, Earl of Durham. His acquaintance with Upper Canada was brief but conclusive. He spent most of his time in the colony gazing in wonder at thundering Niagara Falls, but his political recommendations for the place were sound, even though they were for a time ignored in London.

Durham's report set in motion a scheme that had long been considered—recombining Upper and Lower Canada into a single unit. The idea had been advanced, albeit as a merchants' plot, in 1822, and revived periodically. By Durham's time Upper Canada had a population of more than four hundred thousand, but it had no seaport, as the noble lord reminded the Imperial Parliament. Further, the unruly French needed to be swamped in a sea of English and, more importantly, the economic potential of both colonies would be enhanced if the Canadas were one. All this, Durham insisted, could easily be achieved under the grant of Responsible Government, the simple democratic expedient whereby the cabinet is responsible to the Assembly rather than to the Crown.

The Imperial mother nodded her approval of everything except the framework of responsible government, and in 1841 Upper Canada's short history came to an end. The province ceased to exist; for the next twenty-six years, it would be called Canada West.

From 1841 to Confederation, the affairs of Ontario were once more bound up at least officially with those of French Canada. Although there was considerable co-operation among political leaders during this period, the two provinces very much went their separate ways; the 1850s were strongly marked by a sense of regional identification called "sectionalism." Sectionalism grew out of grievances as much as distinctive interests. The Act of Union had created a single province in which the two halves enjoyed equal representation in the legislature. Presumably this had been done to avoid a French-Canadian dominance of the Assembly; if so, it was a serious error, for immigration would soon turn the balance of population in favour of Canada West and the English-speaking settlers. Another great limitation was the Imperial decision to withhold Responsible Government. A string of colonial governors from Lord Sydenham (Baron Sydenham of Kent and Toronto) through Sir Charles Bagot and Sir Charles Metcalfe (dubbed Charles the Simple by reformers) attempted half-measures, stalling tactics, and, in the case of Bagot, helpful compromise, but the road was tortuous. Robert Baldwin in the upper province and Louis Lafontaine in the lower persevered, however, and as one historian of the period has stated showed the Imperial officials two important facts: that Canada could not be governed *without* the French; and Canada could be governed *with* the French.

In 1846 the Imperial parliament scrapped the protective Corn Laws, the laws that controlled entry of foreign grain to the British market, and Britain and her Empire entered the era of free trade. Thus the chief mercantilistic argument in favour of *not* granting Responsible Government — the need for colonial dependence on the mother country — was removed. In that same year Lord Grey, Durham's brother-in-law, became Colonial Secretary. The following year Lord Elgin, his son-in-law, became Governor General of British North America. The grant of Responsible Government followed, when after a successful election, in which their party won a clear majority in the


JAY
ADAMS
QUEBEC
ONTARIO
MALONE
OGDENSBURG
PLATTSBURG
CLINTON
ESSEX
WATERTOWN
LAKE ONTARIO
ONEIDA
HERKIMER
WASHINGTON
MONTGOMERY
UTICA
SARATOGA
VERMONT
ROCHESTER
ONONDAGA
ONTARIO
BUFFALO
RENNSSELAER
CAYUGA
ALBANY
CHENANGO
OTSEGO
SCHOHARIE
COLUMBIA
LAKE ERIE
ONTARIO
GREENE
MASSACHUSSETTS
STEUBEN
TIOGA
JAMESTOWN
DELAWARE
DUTCHESS
ULSTER
CONNECTICUT
PENNSYLVANIA
ORANGE
WEST-CHESTER
NEW JERSEY
ROCKLAND
LONG ISLAND SOUND
SUFFOLK
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEW YORK
QUEENS
KINGS
RICHMOND

NEW YORK 1800

Billie was mistaken
but, I love her
writing (how her mind
but she was bright then)
I love her

Mom

Sources = Name of Book, author of book, Library call number, page number, name of Library, if possible, OR on census: State, county, town year & page number

Census Talk

Don't write on the main body of the page on any document ~~you~~ or copy you might want as proof. Never strengthen faint lines etc. Any notations should be on the margin or on a separate page attached. Always "note sources.

Allan sent for the micro-film of Grant Co., Wisconsin Registration of Marriages" for the years including Barney White's marriage to Maria Hughbanks. He hoped that record would show some additional information such as parents, witnesses, etc. It didn't. But he decided to search the rest of the film for additional White or Griffith marriages or anything that gave a clue to any of our people. Begining at the begining he had searched for maybe an hour and fifteen minutes when I felt a tap on my shoulder; I looked and there he had found the record of Barney White's marriage to ~~Carrie~~ or Harriet Griffith. It was sharp and neat and gave "volumes" of information.

It is just circumstantial evidence at this point, but; we think, very strong evidence.

I'm sending some photocopies. First, there are the three marriage records. Barney White to Susan Griffiths, then to Harriet E. Griffiths (we first thought it was Carrie but now think its Harriet) and Barney White to Mariah Hughbanks.

Since we found that record naming parents (White + Griffith) we have been searching census records begining with 1850 because that was the 1st census that gave the name, age and birthplace of everybody in the household.

I'm sending you copies of those 3 marriage records of Barney Whites. We thought at first that the "new" wifes name was Carrie but studying it more it looks more like Harriet E.

Also some census copies. "Griffith" first.

They had a Harriet E. and also a Caroline. I'm sending copies of the 1850 and 1860 Clayton Co. Iowa census pages. Don't know if you can make out the 1860 one very well.

They seem to be the same family. Birthplace

1850 (line 18) John W. Griffith, 55 m, Farmer, $2800, Ky.
Mary A. Griffith 46 F Ten.
David Griffith 19 m, Teamster Ill.
George Griffith 15 m, Farmer (school) Ill.
Mary Griffith 13 F, (school) Iowa
Robert Griffith 11 m, (school) Iowa
William Griffith 9 m, (school) Iowa
Harriet E. Griffith 6 F, (school) Iowa
Caroline Griffith 5 F, (school) Iowa
Elen R. Griffith 3 F, Iowa
Jesse Briggs 44 m Lawyer $2055 N.Y.

1850

1860 John Griffith 60 m, Farmer $1000 $300 Penn.
Mary Griffith 50 f. (Real Estate Personal Estate) Penn.
R. Griffith 22 m, Farmer Penn.
Wm. Griffith 18 m. Penn.
Harriet Griffith 16 f. Penn.
Ellen Griffith 12 f. Penn.
J. C. Nix 25 m. Laborer Germany

1860

The second family certainly seems to be the same as the first one — ten years later.

Some of the information seems to be incorrect.

But it looks like maybe the information was given by a neighbor or someone who knew the family well. But not a family member. The ages are given wrong on the parents but the children are pretty accurate. The birthplaces all given as Penn. Norma, you remember that letter where you enclosed an article on Griffin-Griffith families? And 3 brothers came to Pennsylvania? (Griffith brothers) and are the start of a lot of the Griffith families in America. (The article also said "Griffin" is usually English but "Griffith" is usually Welch.) ~~If these~~ (If John W. Griffith was a son (or great grandson) of those people he may have often said "the Griffiths came from Pennsylvania") (Those people came around 1715)

That might cause a neighbor to tell census taker they came from Penn.

(Clayton Co, 1860) The daughter Harriet is listed as being there but not Caroline (or Carrie). If a neighbor gave the information they might mix the two. Which ever one married Barney ~~had~~ probably died by then as John Wesley White and Barney White are alone together in a house in Grant Co. Wisconsin.

Another thing, on the 1st son given in

The second family certainly seems to be
the same as the first one — In your letter,
Some of the information seems a bit incorrect.
But it looks like much of the information
was given by a neighbor or someone rather
But not a family member.
than the family itself. The ages are given
wrong on the parents but the children are pretty
accurate. The birthplaces all given as
France. However, you remember that little
notebook you mailed me with the [illegible]
[illegible] families? And I wrote you down
to Grandfather? ([illegible] Letters) and
are the start of a list of the [illegible] families
in France. (I'll notice also that [illegible]
was usually English but "[illegible]" is really
([illegible]) [illegible] (of John W. [illegible] son
a son (or great grandson) of those people to be
many times of this list "the [illegible] came
from [illegible]") (there are people named 1715)
[illegible] daughter Harriet is listed as being there
but not Catherine (or Carrie) - of names were
the information they might only be part -
Which some one else did not know about, probably
also by them as John Wesley [illegible] and
Fanny [illegible] were also together.
Look in Harriet C. [illegible].
Another thing, on the letters you wrote

1860, the "R" is a different size and looks like Griffith was written down but the "R" filled in later. You can see that—when you look at the original microfilm, its much clearer.

We are looking at all the William Whites in 1850 and 1860 (where indexed) in Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin trying to find William & Hannah. Have found a lot of William White's but they're young guys so far.

I accidentally ran across a Charles Barney in Pottawatomie Co., Iowa. 1850

I think Barney White had a little son named "Charles Barney"

Chas. Barney 67 m Vermont
Debrel Barney 41 F (Debra?) Iowa
John Barney 25 m laborer Ohio
Margarite Barney 16 F Ohio
Cl (Blotted out) 14 m Ill.
Wm. Barney 9 m Ill.
Sarah Barney 5 F Ill.

next door seemed to be a son Benjamin Barney Family
And a little further several pages William White 24 born in Ohio with young family.

The entry on son Benjamin Barney gives food for thought. He is listed as 18 born in Ill. which places the Barney's in Ill. in 1832. They'd have been in Ohio in 1825 when John Barney was born. And that 24 year old William White was born in Ohio in 1826.

So one set of Barneys and one set of Whites were in Ohio at the same time. Maybe our William White's "Hannah" (wife) was a "Barney" & thats her brother or father. Just a thought.

(1860) On page 973 Clayton Co., Iowa, Millville, on the 2nd line is listed Joseph Griffith 24 m Laborer born in Tenn. or Penn. In the same household but the page before is Henry White 11 m b. N.Y. and Alvin White 17 m. b. N.Y.. I didn't get a chance to see who the head of the house was – they were closing for the day. – But it wasn't White or Griffith. Don't know where or if they fit in. (1860)

60
17
(1843)

Another 2 pgs to fit together to make one is pg 136 Clayton Co. Iowa (1850) maybe a brother of John W. Griffith. It is as follows:

George Griffith	48 m	Farmer $00	Ky
Eliza Griffith	45 F	Indiana (looks like) Irles.	(Ireland?)
Isaac N Griffith	9 m	———	Iowa
George B Griffith	~~[illegible]~~ 7 m.	———	Iowa
~~William Mack kins? 19 m~~			~~F~~
Melvin Griffith	4 m	———	Iowa
William Mack kins?	19 m	———	S.C.

I'm also sending the Barney White family as listed in the 1850 Dubuque Co. Census. To see with your own eyes that marriage record showing J.W. and Mary Ann Griffith and then see the census showing Barney's and Susannah's first two children written there "J.W. and Mary Ann" really sets you thinking.

If I have extra copies ready I'll send the 1860 Wisconsin Census page showing Barney and John Wesley as the only members of a household and next door to the Hughbanks family (including Mariah page 23 seamstress) Want to get these things sent off tomorrow as you must long to see them.

you know this, Norma; but Mama and James may not.

A lot of Iowa and possibly some of Northwest Illinois was "Wisconsin Territory" when the Whites and Griffiths went there. So it is possible that the *grandmother John Wesley went to was in Iowa because I'd think they would still have thought of it as "Wisconsin".

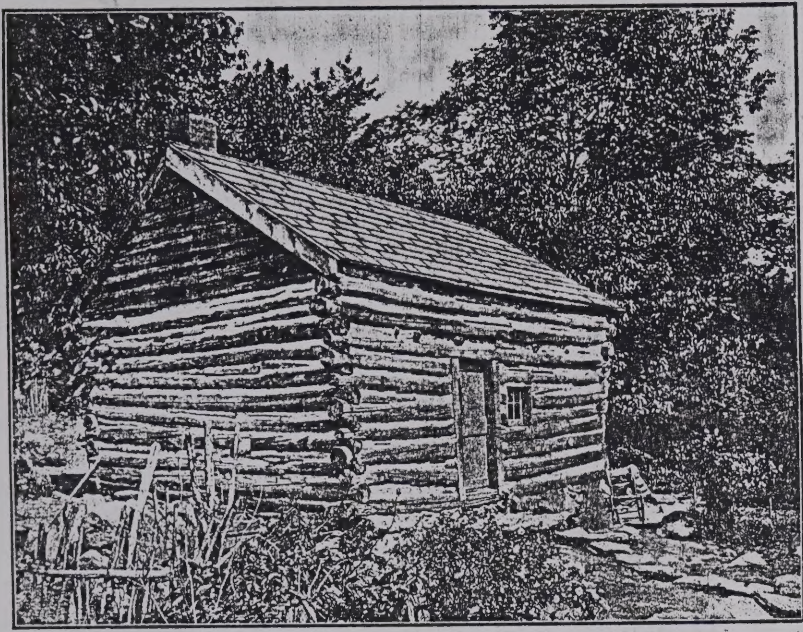
I used to know the boundaries & dates on all those "territories" but can't keep everything in mind unless I use the information now & then. A lot of that part of the country would be Missouri territory, later Wisconsin Territory, and Iowa Territory and Michigan Territory with boundaries they kept changing. Some of those people b. in Missouri may have been born in "Mo. Terr."

One last thought. If it should turn out to be Grandmother Griffith *that John Wesley had to go to — was it J.C. Nix who got the spanking?? and William Griffith and John Wesley who did the mischief? Maybe a couple of years before.

Anyhow We'll keep looking for William & Hannah White on Census.

History of Chautauqua Co & Its People New York
Vol 1 — J.A. Downs & F.Y. Hedley — Am Hx Soc. 1921
R 974.7 D 75

Here is a case of a Loyalist who lived in Canada a while after the war, then returned to New York State.



A LOG CABIN, ONE OF THE FIRST IN COUNTY

While not about Whites per se, it does point out events & kind of the lives Wm/Hannah & Barney White were subject to, in the same locale.

Background Material

Chautauqua Co. — White
(far SW NY State)

gether with the genial spring of 1811, made such a favorable impression upon people visiting there, that many were induced to enter land at the land office.

Zattu Cushing was appointed first judge of the county; Matthew Prendergast, Philo Orton, Jonathan Thompson and William Alexander, associate judges. Of these men, Matthew Prendergast was the eldest son of William Prendergast; when his father was pardoned by the king, as has been related, he was about ten years of age. This circumstance occurring so early in his life, undoubtedly made a strong impression upon his youthful mind, and naturally excited his sympathy in favor of King George, who had favored his father in so momentous an affair. When the controversy between the King and the American people had come to an issue, he was so strongly inclined towards the Royal cause that in 1779 he joined Abraham Cuyler's celebrated regiment of Royal Refugees. The next year, while a lieutenant in command of a small party from his regiment, he captured on the Long Island shore Major Bush, Capt. Cornelius Conkling, ancestor of Roscoe Conkling, Capt. Rogers and Lieut. Farley, Americans who had come over from the Connecticut shore on a secret mission in the interest of the American cause. Two Americans were killed in the affair. William Leggett, father of William Leggett, the editor of the "New York Evening Post," escaped capture. We have every reason to believe that William Prendergast served with credit to himself in the cause he espoused during the remainder of the war.

After the Revolution, Mr. Prendergast for some years resided in Nova Scotia, where he owned a tract of land. In 1808, after he came to Chautauqua county, he was appointed a justice of the peace, and served as supervisor in 1810-11. He also served as associate judge in Chautauqua county many years. As such he verified the petitions of many Revolutionary soldiers for pension, and curiously enough, we see him presiding at a Republican meeting held at John Scott's tavern in 1812, expressly called to sustain the war against England, while other citizens of the county, who had been gallant soldiers of the Revolution, were at the same time participating in meetings held in opposition to the war. Through his life, he retained his Revolutionary costume, and wore long hair, tied in a queue with a leather string.

The first session of the Court of Common Pleas was held at Mayville, June 25, 1811, in Scott's Tavern, on the east side of Main street. Anselm Potter, Dennis Brackett and Jacob Houghton were the first lawyers. The first meeting of the board of supervisors, in which Philo Orton represented the town of Pomfret, and Matthew Prendergast the town of Chautauqua, was also held in Scott's Tavern, on the third Tuesday of October. In pursuance of a vote then taken, a courthouse of wood, and later a jail, were built, at the expense of $1,500. They were built where a "large hemlock post" was placed in 1808 to mark the spot, just in front of the present courthouse.

In 1812 the town of Ellicott, with James Prendergast, the founder of Jamestown, as its supervisor, the town of Gerry, with Samuel Sinclair, the founder of Sinclairville, as its supervisor, and the town of Hanover, with Nedebiah Angell, the founder of the "Angell Settlement," as its supervisor, were erected as new towns.

Notwithstanding the propitious beginning of the new county's existence, the settlers were doomed to disappointment. The winter o 1811-12 was very inclement. A deep snowfall which remained until the last of March interrupted the explorations of landlookers. Ye the Holland Land Company continued to mak efforts to open the county to settlement. They contracted with John Kent to build a roa from his place in Villenova to Kennedy's Mills to be laid out near the Indian path. They expended considerable labor in constructing road from Mayville to Angelica in Allegan county. This road had been so far opened a to be traveled in the winter, as far east as "Sinclear Mills," now Sinclairville.

June 18, 1812, war was declared against England. This event created consternation upo the Holland Purchase. Chautauqua was thinl settled. It was situated upon the frontier, no far from the scene of conflict. Close along it borders and partly within its boundaries wa the home of a principal remnant of the Si Nations or Iroquois, who had been the fierces foes of the Americans in the Revolution. Thes circumstances greatly interrupted immigration. Many actual settlers, yielding to th fears of their wives and families, were persuaded to return to the east while others wen on to the lines as soldiers or camp followers In less than three weeks after war was declare and less than ten days after it was known i Chautauqua, although the county containe less than three thousand inhabitants, it had full company of 113 able-bodied men on th march. The county never has since responde to a call for troops with more alacrity or relatively with a larger quota.

perils of frontier life, and their conduct, fortitude and courage compared favorably with other people of pioneer communities. Their lives had been spent in peaceful pursuits. They had been without military instruction, except such as they had received at backwoods musters. They had never been subject to military discipline, were imperfectly organized and armed, and suffering from cold and hunger. They were hurried into battle almost as soon as they reached the scene of action, against a well drilled and well officered enemy. Their officers were without military knowledge or experience. Conscious of this fact, the men had no faith in their ability to lead them, or in themselves to successfully resist the enemy. They marched without blankets, knapsacks, tents, rations, or camp equipage, and suffered much from hunger and cold.

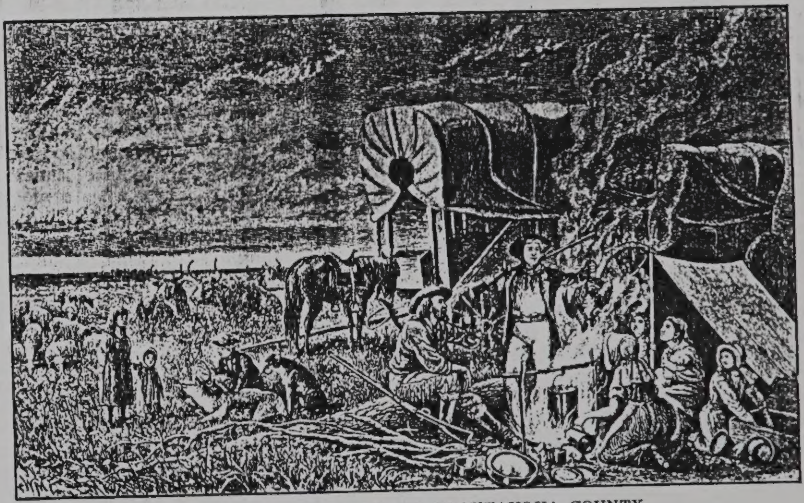
Whatever discredit attáches to the militia for their failure at the battle of Buffalo, the conduct of the Chautauqua troops during the remainder of the war went far to redeem them. A company under Capt. John Silsby served with credit in the memorable battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, under Gen. Brown, as a part of the brigade of Gen. Peter B. Potter. In the summer of 1814, two full companies of the 164th Regiment under Col. John McMahan, were stationed a few miles below Black Rock, where they suffered much sickness. The 385 prisoners taken at Fort Erie were placed in their charge, and marched to the vicinity of Albany. This was about the last event in which the troops participated.

At the close of the war, the county was in a most deplorable condition. Its people were absolutely poor. To add to their misfortunes, another serious calamity befell them. The summer of 1816, known as the "Cold Season," was long remembered; cold and blustering winds swept the hills; snow fell; ice formed in every month of the year. July was accompanied by frost and ice; the "Fourth" was cold and raw; blustering winds swept the entire Atlantic coast. On the 5th, ice was formed as thick as window glass in New York City and Pennsylvania. In August, ice half an inch thick was frequently seen. Flowers froze, corn was killed, and all attempts to raise other crops were abandoned.

As a result, the first six months of 1817 might be termed the "Starving Season." Flour was $18 a barrel; potatoes $1.50 a bushel; and other articles in proportion, and difficult to obtain at those prices; while the price of labor was but sixty or seventy cents a day. Those skilled in the use of the rifle could to some extent provide their families with venison and other wild meat, but many until the harvest of 1817 subsisted wholly upon fish, milk, greens and leeks.

Long years of financial depression and poverty followed the war of 1812, and the life of the settler in the backwoods of Chautauqua county was one of extreme hardship, and yet, stimulated by the prospect of the building of the Erie canal to Buffalo, the population of the county rapidly increased. For many years the covered wagons of the emigrants were constantly moving from Eastern New York toward the Holland Purchase. A bridge more than a mile in length across the lower end of Cayuga Lake was called the Cayuga bridge, and until the Erie canal was built was recognized as the dividing point between the East and the "Far West." For years a continuous procession of wagons passed over it, each with a water-pail and tar-bucket dangling from the axle-tree, and perhaps an infant's cradle or basket swinging from the ash hoops over which was stretched its cover, displaying upon the canvas the legend. "For the Holland Purchase," or "For the Connecticut Reserve." They bore the family of the emigrant, his cooking utensils, sleeping furniture, and sometimes all of his family effects. They were often followed by freight wagons, drawn sometimes by three, frequently by five horses. The settler who journeyed to Chautauqua county usually came in a less pretentious way, generally with a yoke of oxen, an oxcart, or a wooden-shod sled, and a few household goods. On his arrival the settler would go first to the land office at Mayville and get a contract for usually about one hundred acres of land, to be paid for at two dollars and fifty cents per acre, ten dollars or fifteen dollars down, being all the money that he could raise; the balance in annual installments with interest. He then, with the assistance of his neighbors, would put up a log house, after which he would make an arrangement with the merchant at the neighboring settlement for credit to the amount of twenty dollars to fifty dollars to buy a pig or a cow, or some necessary articles at his store, to be paid for in black salts of lye, made from the ashes, when he should burn his first fallow.

From the ashes of the burned timber the settler obtained the first return for his labor. From the manufacture and sale of black salts of lye made from the ashes, he received the cash to pay for his land. The settlement of the county would have been postponed many years had it not been for this com-



EMIGRANTS EN ROUTE TO CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY

pounds or leasing property on which the annual rental was at least forty shillings were privileged to vote for assemblymen.

In June 1777 George Clinton was elected governor of the new state, an office he was to hold for eighteen years without a break. After much delay the legislature was organized at Kingston in September. A short time later the government officials were forced to flee from the imperial forces under Sir Henry Clinton who was advancing up the Hudson in his fruitless attempt to join Burgoyne. The British captured Kingston and on October 16 put it to the torch.

Seldom has a government been established in the face of more forlorn circumstances. Although Sir Henry was forced to retreat and Burgoyne was captured, New York City, the most wealthy municipality and the only important seaport in the state, remained in enemy hands. Salt, spices, pepper, tea, coffee, and rum were cut off, as were the more important materials of war. This, in addition to the fact that farmers and manufacturers were reluctant to accept the depreciated paper money issued by the state, made it very difficult to obtain the supplies required by the American military forces. Fortunately, the extralegal local committees continued to function, and they aided in the collection of military stores. As time went on, the government gradually became more effective, and local committees, many of which remained active until the end of the Revolution, played a lesser and lesser role.

B

One of the most difficult questions facing the Patriots was what to do with the large group of Loyalists. Generally speaking, Loyalists were leniently treated prior to July 4, 1776. After that date the treatment became more severe, and many were tarred, feathered, and ridden out of town on a rail. If their property was not destroyed or stolen, it was confiscated by the state. Patriots received similar treatment at the hands of the imperial authorities. Prior to the establishment of a constitutional government, the Provincial Congress established a Committee on Loyalists. Later the state legislature established an agency to detect conspiracies, and its duties included the ferreting out of Loyalists.

1776
wife

It is impossible to estimate the number of New Yorkers who were Loyalists. Unquestionably a large share of the population retained a strong affection for the Crown. Many of these were alienated when imperial soldiers—British and German alike—were permitted to loot and molest civilians. An intelligent leadership might well have won many to the imperial cause. In any case, thousands fled to British-held territory. Many went to New York City.

The great metropolis took on the aspects of a European capital. Here was the principal seat of British power. In the streets, soldiers and citizens conversed in a strange medley of English, Dutch, and German. The higher stratum of society—consisting of military officers, governmental officials, and wealthy civilians—enjoyed the theater, lavish parties, and even horse racing, fox hunting, and cricket. The lesser lights had the

(Loyalist attacks)

usual diversions offered by the local tavern and by public spectacles. The seaport carried on a brisk trade with the West Indies and the Continent. Revenues were increased by privateering, in which at least six thousand men were engaged. During the six and a half months prior to March 1, 1779, New York privateers took 150 prizes. Many Loyalists, who, for the most part, were men who had been established in the city prior to the outbreak of hostilities, made fortunes from trade or in privateering.

The refugee Loyalists who fled to New York City from all over North America were often in desperate straits, having lost all their property to Americans. These people were supported meagerly by the Crown. Hundreds of them enlisted as royal provincial troops and took an active part in the war against the Patriots. Militarily, probably the most vexatious group of Loyalists were the frontiersmen who fled to Canada to join the imperial forces. Some of these men fought at Oriskany; others took part in later raids along the wilderness frontier.

1778

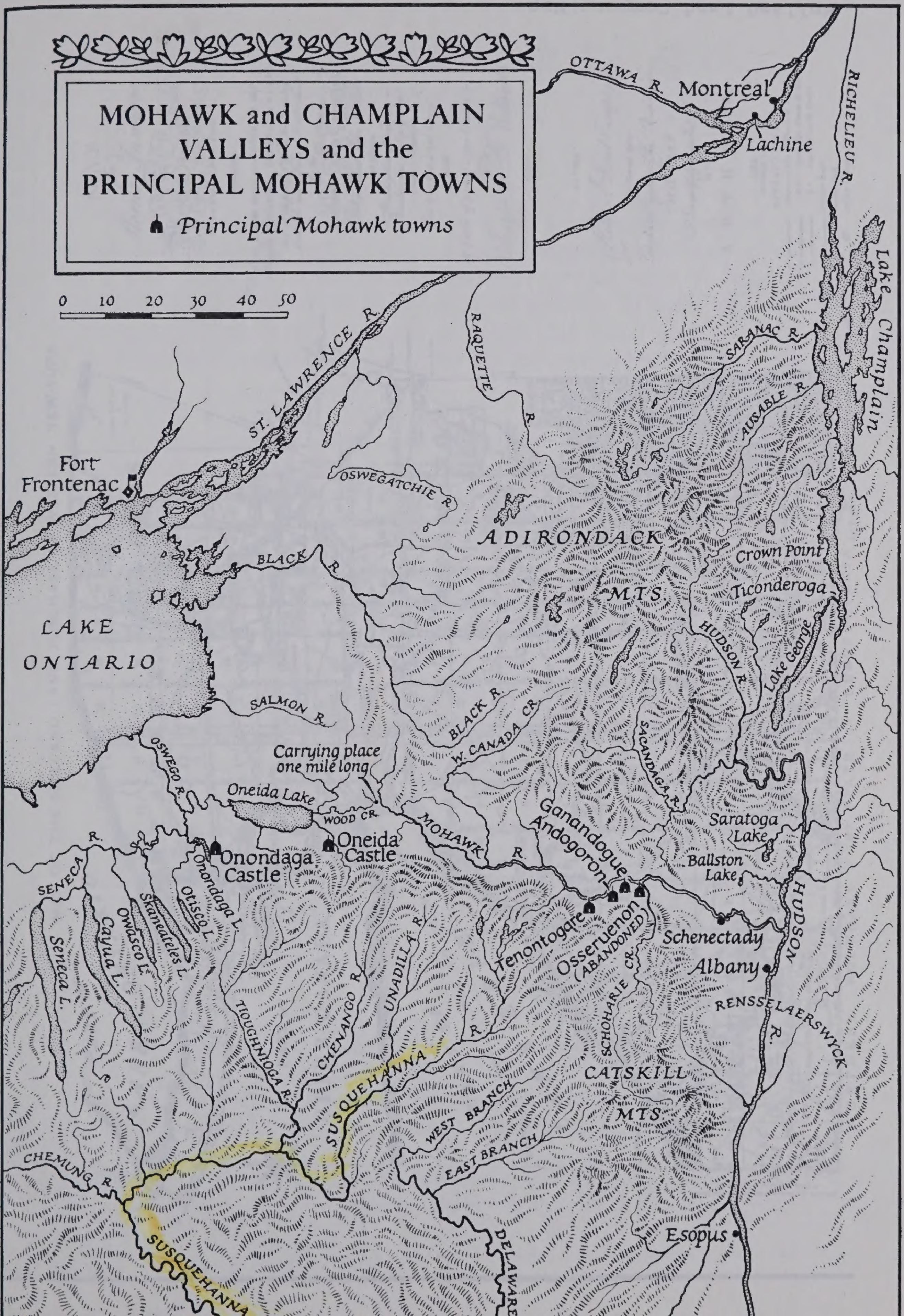
In 1778 the British unleashed a ferocious attack against the frontier settlements. On May 30, Cobleskill was burned; in June, Springfield was destroyed; during the month of July, Andrustown (near German Flats) was burned and the Pennsylvania settlement at Wyoming was left in ruins. In September, German Flats was laid to waste for ten miles along the Mohawk, and, in October, Unadilla was given to the torch. On November 11 imperial forces sacked the isolated village of Cherry Valley.

OURS

These assaults were carried out chiefly by Loyalists, many of whom were frontiersmen, and by Iroquois Indians, the majority of whom actively supported the Crown. The raiders were usually led by able men, notably Colonel John Butler, his son, Captain Walter Butler, and the Indian chief, Captain Joseph Brant. While the attacking forces were small, they were composed of men who were wise in the ways of the wilderness. Bands of such men moved quickly, striking before the Patriots had time to mobilize for defense, and the small battles which resulted were swift and savage. All too often captured Continentals and their defenseless women and children were abused or slaughtered by the infuriated Indians, although Joseph Brant and the British officers made efforts to prevent mistreatment of their conquered foes.

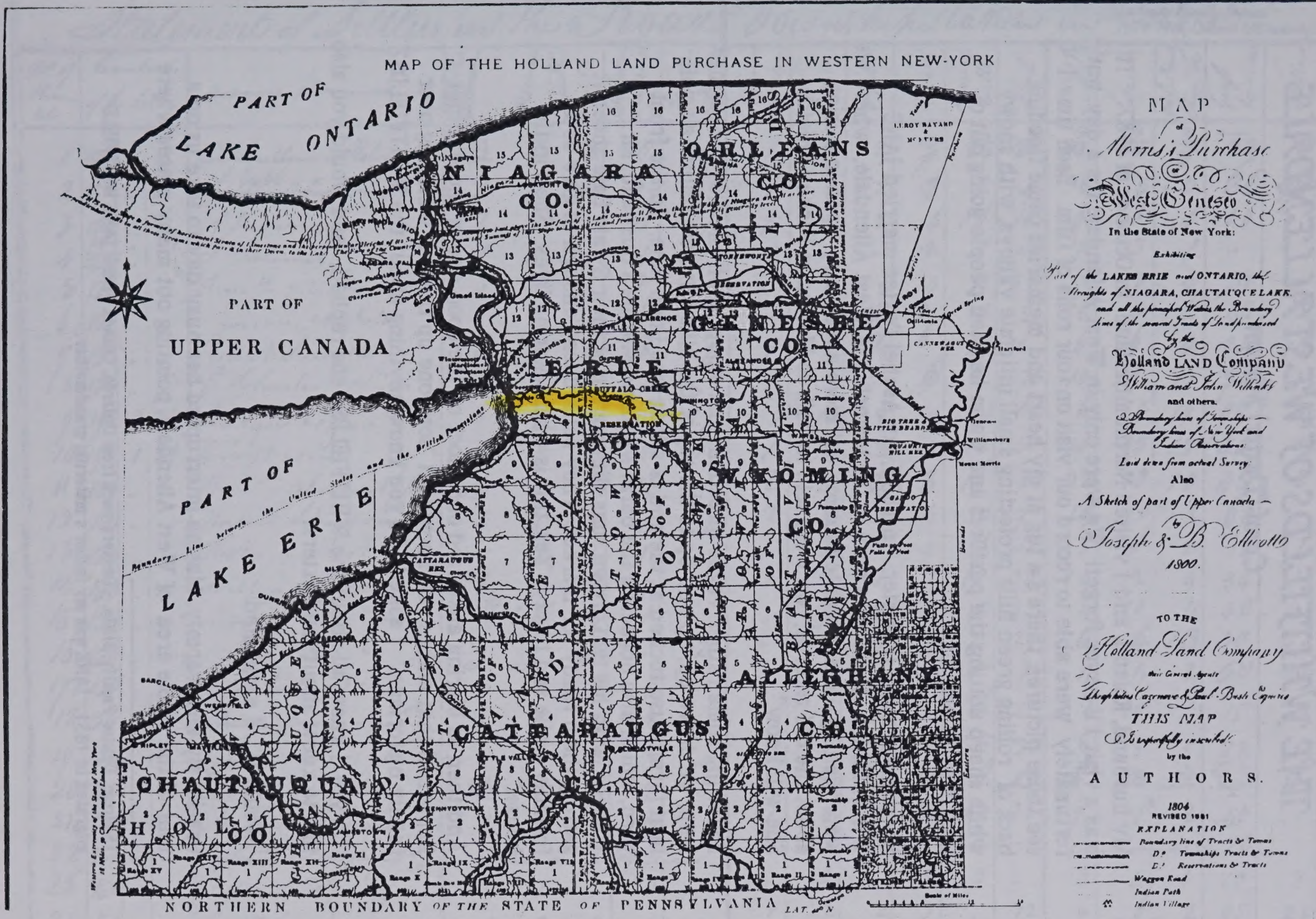
Some writers have characterized these actions against frontier villages as orgies of revenge on the part of the Loyalists or as wanton savagery on the part of British officials. It is more accurate to say that they were carefully calculated military maneuvers designed to weaken the Revolutionary forces. The Continental armies drew food, fodder, and horses from the frontier settlements. The raiders succeeded in destroying large quantities of these much-needed supplies and often prevented the production of more. Furthermore, the Patriots were forced to send troops and supplies to protect the wilderness frontier, reducing thereby their military power in other critical areas.

To counteract British strategy, the American military leaders deter-



MOHAWK and CHAMPLAIN VALLEYS and the PRINCIPAL MOHAWK TOWNS

Principal Mohawk towns
0 10 20 30 40 50
OTTAWA R.
Montreal
Lachine
RICHELIEU R.
Lake Champlain
ST. LAWRENCE R.
RAQUETTE R.
SARANAC R.
AUSABLE R.
Fort Frontenac
OSWEGATCHIE R.
ADIRONDACK MTS
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
BLACK R.
LAKE ONTARIO
HUDSON R.
Lake George
SALMON R.
BLACK R.
W. CANADA CR.
SACANDAGA R.
OSWEGO R.
Carrying place one mile long
Oneida Lake
WOOD CR.
MOHAWK R.
Ganandogue
Andogoron
Saratoga Lake
Ballston Lake
R.
Onondaga Castle
Oneida Castle
SENECA R.
Onondaga L.
Otisco L.
Skaneateles L.
Owasco L.
Cayuga L.
Seneca L.
UNADILLA R.
Tenontogare
Osseruenon (ABANDONED)
SCHOHARIE CR.
Schenectady
Albany
HUDSON R.
RENSSELAERSWYCK
TIOUGHNIOGA R.
CHENANGO R.
R.
SUSQUEHANNA
CATSKILL MTS
WEST BRANCH
EAST BRANCH
CHEMUNG R.
SUSQUEHANNA
DELAWARE
Esopus


MAP OF THE HOLLAND LAND PURCHASE IN WESTERN NEW-YORK
PART OF LAKE ONTARIO
PART OF UPPER CANADA
PART OF LAKE ERIE
Boundary Line between the United States and the British Possessions
NIAGARA CO.
ORLEANS CO
GENESEE CO
ERIE CO.
WYOMING CO.
ALLEGHANY CO.
CATTARAUGUS CO.
CHAUTAUQUA CO
BUFFALO CREEK
RESERVATION
TONEWONTA
CATTARAUGUS RES.
LEROY BAYARD & MCEVERS
NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA
MAP of Morris's Purchase or West Geneseo In the State of New York:
Exhibiting
Part of the LAKES ERIE and ONTARIO, the Straights of NIAGARA, CHAUTAUQUE LAKE. and all the principal Waters the Boundary lines of the several Tracts of Land purchased by the
Holland LAND Company
William and John Willinks
and others.
Boundary lines of Townships — Boundary lines of New York and Indian Reservations
Laid down from actual Survey
Also
A Sketch of part of Upper Canada —
by
Joseph & B. Ellicott
1800.
TO THE
Holland Land Company
their General Agents
Theophilus Cazenove & Paul Busti Esquires
THIS MAP
Is respectfully inscribed
by the
AUTHORS.
1804
REVISED 1881
EXPLANATION
Boundary line of Tracts & Towns
Do Townships Tracts & Towns
Do Reservations & Tracts
Waggon Road
Indian Path
Indian Village

Holland Land Company Map
(Buffalo and Erie
Historical Society)

THE WHITFIELDS OF WEST ALLENDALE

Carol (Dexter) Minson

My husband, Roland, and I visited Northumberland in October of 1987. It was a visit I'll never forget! We were only in West Allendale for a day, but fortunately were able to record our visit on four rolls of film. Each time I see those pictures, there's a tug at my heart and memories come flooding back of rolling green hills protecting small intimate valleys, with snowy white sheep dotting the pastures and warm hearted people going out of their way to help us.

My maiden name is Dexter. In 1835, my Asahel Dexter married JANE WHITFIELD.[1] JANE was born in the township of West Allendale, where we were visiting, and I wanted to find out more about her. Upon inquiring about the old records, we were told to "talk to Marina at Farney Shields. She will know."

Following some rather vague directions and stopping on the way for further help, we drove up, up and up to the top of the hills until we found a small, neat farmhouse tucked at the end of a long tree lined lane. In the front yard, which also bordered the barn, we found Marina's husband, Mr. Wallace, with his two grown sons clipping ten of their Swale Dale sheep getting them ready for market. They paused long enough to give us a friendly smile and to say, "Yes, this is where Marina lives. She's in the house."

And then as Marina answered our knock on the door, one of those things happened that makes you know that "someone up there is watching over family historians." I asked, "Do you know anything about the WHITFIELDS?"

"Oh yes, I know all about the WHITFIELDS," she replied, "and would you also like to know about the Dexters?"

"Would I!", I exclaimed.

Graciously and warmly, Marina interrupted her busy day to take us on a tour of the whole area of West Allendale, pointing out many places where

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[1] Source: Dexter Family Bible. Dexters were from Ontario, Canada where JANE WHITFIELD migrated in 1831. JANE was my father's maternal grandmother.

Statement of Settlers in the Road Township taken in 1806

Ledyard Family Papers
MS # 1912, Cornell University.

No. of the lots	Contents of the lot			Owners Names	Men	Women	Youths from 12 to 21	Children under 12	Framed Houses	Framed Barns	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Young Cattle	Sheep	Acres wheat	Corn	Oats & Rye &c	Grass land	Fallow	[illegible]
1	100	..	..	~~[illegible]~~ W. Holmes	2	2	2	4	0	1	1	2	3	2	8	4	4	2	[illegible]	8	18
2	150	..	..	J. Cobb ~~[illegible]~~	2	3	1	6	1	1	2	2	3	2	4	8	5	5	60	[illegible]	79
3	150	..	..	A. Deslerage	2	2	"	8	1	1	2	2	4	16	16	6	4	4	86	.	100
4	15	" ..	21 ..	J. Holmes	1	1	1	4	1	"	"	"	2	1	"	2	3	1	..	"	6
5	150	..	..	Smith & Nickason	3	3	4	8	"	.	2	2	4	4	30	8	8	4	30	"	50
6	150	..	"	[illegible] & Webster	2	2	.	6	"	1	2	4	3	4	20	8	8	4	40	2	62
7	150	..	..	Robert Smith	3	3	2	3	2	1	8	2	6	14	38	6	6	4	20	4	40
8	150	..	..	C. Sylvester & others	3	3	"	1	"	1	5	"	6	6	25	10	10	15	80	"	115
9	198	2	33	Badger & others	6	7	3	0	1	3	10	8	14	30	60	6	14	14	95	14	143
10	195	1	21	C. Swift & others	3	4	4	9	1	1	4	2	5	12	50	10	15	15	40	5	85
11	150	..	"	Benj^n Alvord & G. Mott	4	4	2	4	1	2	4	4	8	16	30	22	10	10	45	5	92
12	150	..	..	Norton Jones & Root	4	3	1	4	1	2	4	2	4	10	37	14	10	8	60	"	92
13	150	..	..	W. Root & N. Root	2	3	1	1	"	1	3	2	4	6	16	3	6	2	18	4	33
14	150	..	..	Williams & Norton	4	3	1	5	1	1	2	1	7	10	30	10	12	4	34	.	60
15	150	..	..	[illegible] Robert & others	5	4	8	11	"	"	9	2	9	8	40	8	10	4	40	"	62
16	150	..	..	Perkins	3	3	4	"	2	"	2	2	4	4	20	6	4	10	30	"	50
17	150	..	..	B. ~~[illegible]~~ & others	2	2	"	5	"	"	2	"	3	7	14	4	4	4	50	2	64
18	150	..	..	~~Holmes~~ Dunn, Hawley & others	8	5	4	6	"	"	3	2	5	6		2	10	4	15	4	35
19	150	..	..	~~[illegible]~~ Cole, Walker & others	2	2	2	4	"	"	5	"	4	5	20	6	5	5	28	5	49
20	150	..	..	E. Roberts, ~~[illegible]~~	[illegible]	1	3	4	1	"	2	0	2	0	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	30
21	150	..	..	Asa Towns & Corwin	4	5	9	17	1	1	6	2	10	12	26	7	1	8	50	"	66
22	150	..	..	~~[illegible]~~ Robertson & [illegible]	taken on [illegible] fifteen														20	"	20
23	150	..	..	Williams & G[illegible]	1	1	,	3	.	..	2	"	2	2	..	2	4	4	10	2	22
24	150	..	..	Benj^n Sweet	4	3	2	4	"	1	2	2	3	"	12	6	6	2	48	28	9[illegible]
25	150	..	..	Wm. Herrick	3	3	2	2	"	"	2	2	3	7	30	6	4	4	40	"	54
26	150	..	..	Freeborn & Constine	2	3	2	6	1	2	2	4	7	12	35	8	10	5	48	4	65

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Records of the Holland Land Company and the other companies it took over:

Cornell University, Ithaca, NY
Daniel E. Reed Library, State University of New York, Fredonia, NY
Family History Library, Salt Lake City, UT
New York State Library, Albany, NY
Patterson Public Library, Westfield , NY

It does not make
sense that our Whites
would have gone to New
Brunswick as so many
Loyalists did. This can
be tossed out.

R 929.371 A881 V3

Mostly New Brunswick Whites

White, Thomas,died before 1871 in St John's.(NF3-107)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1871 in St Mary's, Placentia & St. Mary's,(NF3-132)
White, Thomas,sailor,living in 1871 in Trinity, Trinity,(NF3-137)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1871 in Twillingate, Twillingate & Fogo,(NF3-139)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1871 in Witless Bay, Ferryland, (NF3-142)
White, Thomas,trader,living in 1871 in Dildo Cove, Trinity,(NF3-26)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1871 in Flat Bay,(NF3-29)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1871 in Ochre Pit Cove, Bay de Verds, (NF3-60)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1871 in Rose Blanche, Burgeo & La Poile,(NF3-69)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1871 in Bird Island Cove,(NF3-7)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1871 in Sandy Cove (French Shore), (NF3-72)
White, Thomas,planter,living in 1871 in Shoal Cove (Bonavista),Bonavista,(NF3-74)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1871 in Spillar's Cove, Trinity, (NF3-76)
White, Thomas,living in 1888,(NF9-84)
White, Thomas,living in 1827 in Halifax County,(NS1-118)
White, Thomas,farmer,living in 1896 in Halifax County,(NS35-1026)
White, Thomas,farmer,living in 1896 in Hants County,(NS36-1093)
White, Thomas,laborer,living in 1871 in Liverpool, Liverpool Township, (NS4-152)
White, Thomas,farmer,living in 1871 in Berwick,(NS4-18)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1871 in Prospect, district No. 10, (NS4-208)
White, Thomas,farmer,living in 1871 in Prospect Bay, district No. 10, (NS4-208)
White, Thomas,captain,living in 1871 in Densmore's,(NS4-53)
White, Thomas,laborer,living in 1871 in Fletcher's Station, Halifax Township,(NS4-61)
White, Thomas,fisherman,living in 1896 in Yarmouth County,(NS42-1561)
White, Thomas,(military),living in 1819,(NS6-73)
White, Thomas,(military),married in 1828,(NS7-141)
White, Thomas,died before 1871 in Charlottetown, Charlotte,(PE1-17)
White, Thomas (D D),ch of England,living in 1871 in Shelburne, Shelburne Township,(NS4-223)
White, Thomas (Jn),iCR,living in 1896 in Penobsquis,(NB35-863)
White, Thomas (Mrs),living in 1890 in Charlottetown,(PE4-223)
White, Thomas E,farmer,living in 1896 in York Co,(NB44-1430)
White, Thomas F,living in 1896 in St John (city),(NB28-346)
White, Thomas H,farmer,born circa 1811 in NB,(NB17-48)
White, Thomas H,farmer,living in 1851 in Carleton County, Woodstock Parish,(NB17-48)
White, Thomas H,miner,living in 1896 in Cumberland County,(NS32-818)
White, Thomas M,clerk,living in 1908 in St John's,(NF2-464)
White, Thomas M,farmer,living in 1896 in Hants County,(NS36-1093)
White, Thompson,clerk,living in 1896 in Halifax,(NS18-338)
White, Timothy,fisherman,living in 1871 in Lower River Inhabitants, Hawkesbury Twp,(NS4-157)
White, Urban,carpenter,born circa 1831 in NB,(NB47-24)
White, Urban,carpenter,living in 1861 in Palmerston Parish,(NB47-24)
White, V S (Mrs),living in 1896 in St John (city),(NB28-346)
White, Victor,living in 1827 in Digby County,(NS1-118)
White, Victor,farmer,living in 1871 in Margaree Forks, C.B. Margaree Township,(NS4-165)
White, Victor J A,died in 1967 in Happy Valley,(LB3-21)
White, Victor J A,died in 1967 in Happy Valley,(LB3-32)
White, Victoria (Mrs),acadian,born circa 1828 in NB,(NB1-150)
White, Victoria (Mrs),acadian,living in 1851 in Dorchester Parish, (NB1-150)
White, Victware (Mrs),acadian,born circa 1794 in NB,(NB1-150)
White, Victware (Mrs),acadian,living in 1851 in Dorchester Parish, (NB1-150)
White, Vincent,living circa 1785,(NB10-215)
White, Vincent,loyalist,living circa 1783,(NB27-342)
White, Vincent,farmer,living in 1871 in Springfield,(NB9-162)
White, Vincent (Jn),living circa 1785,(NB10-28)
White, Vincent S,clerk,living in 1896 in St John (city),(NB28-346)
White, Vincent S,grocer,living in 1896 in St John (city),(NB28-346)
White, Vital,carriagemaker,born circa 1829 in NB,(NB25-85)
White, Vital,carriagemaker,living in 1851 in Sackville Parish,(NB25-85)
White, Vital,died before 1896 in Moncton (Town),(NB43-1221)
White, W (MD),living in 1896 in Boundary Line,(NB31-602)
White, W E,farmer,living in 1896 in Yarmouth County,(NS42-1561)
White, W H,commission merchant,living in 1871 in St John,(NB9-215)
White, W J,businessman,living in 1878 in Antigonish County,(NS2-3)
White, W J,agcl impl,living in 1896 in Pictou County,(NS39-1413)
White, W J,farmer,living in 1896 in Pictou County,(NS39-1413)
White, W V,carpenter,living in 1896 in Woodstock, (Town),(NB31-552)
White, Waitstill,farmer,living in 1896 in Yarmouth County,(NS42-1561)
White, Wallace,fisherman,living in 1896 in Yarmouth County,(NS42-1561)
White, Walter,carpenter,living in 1896 in Westmorland County, (NB43-1303)
White, Walter E,clerk,living in 1908 in St John's,(NF2-464)
White, Walter T,living in 1896 in St John (city),(NB28-346)
White, Walter W (MD),living in 1896 in St John (city),(NB28-346)
White, Warren,living in 1896 in Guysboro County,(NS34-919)
White, Wesley,farmer,living in 1896 in Maitland,(NS29-560)
White, Wesley H (MD),living in 1896 in Sussex,(NB35-817)
White, Whitfield,farmer,living in 1896 in York Co,(NB44-1430)
✓White, William,living circa 1785,(NB10-27 28 149 233 237 349) ✓ [illegible]
White, William,married in 1845 in St John,(NB13-152)
White, William,married in 1846 in St Martins,(NB13-203)
White, William,married in 1846 in St John,(NB13-226)
White, William,farmer,born circa 1833 in NB,(NB18-17)
White, William,farmer,living in 1861 in Beresford Parish,(NB18-17)
White, William,born circa 1855 in NB,(NB18-38)
White, William,living in 1861 in Bathurst Parish north,(NB18-38)
✓ White, William,born circa 1805,(NB22-10) bro ?
White, William,living in 1851 in St Martins East Parish,(NB22-10)
White, William,born circa 1843 in NB,(NB22-146)
White, William,living in 1851 in Kings Parish,(NB22-146)
White, William,labourer,born circa 1819,(NB22-149)
White, William,labourer,living in 1851 in Kings Parish,(NB22-149)
White, William,farmer,born circa 1801,(NB22-23) Young
White, William,farmer,living in 1851 in Simonds Parish,(NB22-23)
White, William,lumberman,born circa 1831 in NB,(NB22-3)
White, William,lumberman,living in 1851 in St Martins East Parish, (NB22-3)
✓ White, William,farmer,born circa 1799,(NB25-32) Young
White, William,farmer,living in 1851 in Westmorland Parish,(NB25-32)
✓White, William,farmer,born circa 1791 in NB,(NB26-ff) 97-15 = 24
White, William,farmer,living in 1851 in St Mary's Parish,(NB26-ff)
✓ White, William,loyalist,living circa 1783,(NB27-341)
White, William,loyalist,living circa 1783,(NB27-342)
White, William,confectioner,living in 1896 in St John (city),(NB28-346)
White, William,dyer,living in 1896 in St John (city),(NB28-346)
White, William,stevedore,living in 1896 in St John (city),(NB28-346)
White, William,died before 1896 in St John (city),(NB28-346)
White, William,farmer,living in 1896 in Gordonsville,(NB31-602)
White, William,farmer,living in 1896 in Bathurst,(NB33-706)
White, William,farmer,living in 1896 in Robertville,(NB33-746)
White, William,grocer & Telegraph,living in 1896 in Richibucto, (NB34-759)
White, William,farmer,living in 1896 in Sea Dog Cove,(NB35-863)
White, William,labourer,living in 1896 in Chatham,(NB37-924)
White, William,shatchmaker,living in 1896 in Doaktown,(NB37-978)
White, William,carpenter,living in 1896 in Petersville Church, (NB38-1010)
White, William,living in 1896 in Moncton (Town),(NB43-1221)
White, William,farmer,living in 1896 in York Co,(NB44-1430)
White, William,laborer,living in 1896 in York Co,(NB44-1430)
White, William,living in 1861 in Richibucto Parish,(NB48-79)
White, William,living in 1861 in Richibucto Parish,(NB48-87)
White, William,millman,living in 1871 in Marysville,(NB9-105)
White, William,farmer,living in 1871 in Midgic,(NB9-108)
White, William,farmer,living in 1871 in Belledune,(NB9-12)
White, William,dry goods,living in 1871 in St John,(NB9-215)
White, William,farmer,living in 1871 in White's Cove,(NB9-250)
White, William,gardener,living in 1871 in Woodstock,(NB9-254)
White, William,farmer,living in 1871 in Colebrooke,(NB9-40)
White, William,farmer,living in 1871 in Gordonsville,(NB9-73)
White, William,farmer,living in 1871 in Hopewell Corner,(NB9-83)
White, William,bookkeeper,living in 1908 in St John's,(NF2-464)
White, William,mgr's asst,living in 1908 in St John's,(NF2-464)
White, William,master,living in 1908 in St John's,(NF2-464)
White, William,landing waiter,living in 1908 in St John's,(NF2-464)
White, William,laborer,living in 1908 in Harbor Grace,(NF2-531)
White, William,master mariner,living in 1871 in St John's,(NF3-107)
White, William,shoemaker,living in 1871 in St John's,(NF3-107)
White, William,general importer,living in 1871 in St John's,(NF3-107)
White, William,farmer,living in 1871 in Torba, St. John's,(NF3-136)
White, William,planter,living in 1871 in Cat's Cove, Harbor Main, (NF3-20)
White, William,fisherman,living in 1871 in Fox Harbor,Placentia & St.Mary's,(NF3-32)
White, William,fisherman,living in 1871 in Greenspond, Bonavista, (NF3-37)
White, William,fisherman,living in 1871 in Herring Neck, Twillingate & Fogo,(NF3-45)
White, William,fisherman,living in 1871 in Jersey Harbor, Fortune Bay, (NF3-48)
White, William,fisherman,living in 1871

It is highly unlikely OUR Whites w

Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia
(Public Archives of Nova Scotia Publ. #4 (1937) Compiler - Marion Gilroy)
154 pages - soft cover green

Book page	Name		year	County / Type of Action		Description	
25	White,	Samuel	1789	Anapolis,	Grant	79 Acres,	St. Mary's Bay Road
37	"	Paul	1786	"	both escheated 1819	100 ac.	Halifax or Ard
	"	"		"		200 ac	
53	"	Joseph	1787	Halifax	Grant	200 ac	Preston Twp
	"	William	1784	"	"	150 ac	Sheet Harbour (Royal Garrison Battalion)
105	White,	Amas	1784	Shelburne	"		Shelburne Town Lot
	"	"	"	"	"		" Warehouse Lot
	"	Briton, sr	"	"	"		" Town Lot
	"	Caleb	"	"	"		" Water Lot
	"	Charles	1785	"	"	200 ac	Port Herbert Harbor
	"	"	1790	"	"	100 "	Sable River (not reg'd)
	"	Duncan	1784	"	"	50 "	Shelburne Town Lot
	"	"	"	"	"		Shelburne Town Lot
	"	"	[illegible]	"	"		[illegible] Warehouse Lot
	"	"	1787	"	"	50 "	Birch Town
	"	"	1790	"	"	100 "	Sable River (not reg'd)
	"	Gideon	1784	"	"	50 "	Port Roseway River, E
	"	"	"	"	"		Shelburne Town Lot
	"	James	"	"	"		" " "
	"	"	"	"	"		" Water Lot
	"	"	1786	"	"	200 "	Cape Negro River
	"	Richard	1784	"	"	50 "	Port Roseway Harbour
	"	"	"	"	"		Shelburne Warehouse Lot
	"	"	1785	"	"	200 "	Jordan River, East
114	White,	Aaron	1786	"	Warrant	200 ac	Tusket River So
	"	Elizabeth	1787	"	"	20 ac	Shelburn TWP (Negro)
	"	Samuel	1787	"	"	40 ac	" (Negro)
143	White,	Gideon	1785	Sydney	Grant	85 ac	Manchester TWP (Duke of Cumberland Rgt) Captains,
	"	"	1790	"	"		Guysborough Town Lot (not reg'd)
	"	Isom	1790	"	"		" " "
	"	Thomas	1785	"	"	100 ac	" Twp
	"	"	1790	"	"		" Town Lot (not reg'd)
	"	"	1790	"	"		" Water Lot "
	Whitt (White)	Isom	1785	"	"	100 ac	Manchester TWP (Duke of Cumberland's Rgt)
	"	"	1790	"	"		Guysborough Town Lot
	"	John	1785	"	"	100 ac	Manchester TWP (Duke of " ")
	"	"	1790	"	"		Guysborough Town Lot

Notes: This is strictly Nova Scotia — No place else in Canada mentioned. No Barnes, Pringles, etc listed. The booklet did not tell where the Whites were from, but did so about many others. Sydney Co had hundreds from No Car, So Car & "St. Augustine." Cumberland Co. (An Alexander Sharp from No Car — was he an associate of "our" Griffith family before this?) had many from Westchester NY. Quite a few Hessians in Halifax, negroes in Shelburne. Some from several parts of NY. Two from MA (one MA Bay, 1 Plymouth) A couple from N.J. & VA. A few from NH incl Benning Wentworth who got 543 acres in Lunenburg.

June 1995

The Welsh Settlements in Upper Canada by Frederick Coffin

Establishment and Growth

971.575
826

Settlement of York County.[5,6] Since their ancestors had left Wales more than a century before they were by this time thoroughly americanized.

PROOF OUR WHITES Not Welsh

Welsh in Upper Canada

971.3
F26

One of the earliest plans to bring Welsh to Upper Canada in mentioned by John Graves Simcoe in his letter to Lord Hobart, 11th February, 1803, supporting Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Talbot's application for land.[7] He states that Talbot planned to persuade a large body of Welsh and Scotch families, who had arrived in New York in the summer of 1801 and were already disgusted with life there, to return under the government of England and take up land with him in the township of Yarmouth. Although this expectation did not materialize, Talbot did locate in the years that followed, a very large number of colonists, among whom was the original Welsh group.

The idea of promoting a Welsh settlement in Canada was advanced again in 1815 by Major David Byron Davies of the 100th regiment then stationed at Niagara. He secured support for his scheme from General Sir Gordon Drummond, Lieutenant Governor of the province, who presented Davies' proposal to the British Government and recommended him as a man capable of accomplishing the undertaking. Lord Bathurst, then Secretary for the the Colonies, said in his reply dated 8th January, 1816,[8]

> that from the many previous applications which
> I have received in the event of Government

This shows that Gov't demand did not get around to bringing over Welsh settlers. According to this the Welsh didn't come before 1815 at Settlement of York County!

This proves my White family was Not Welsh!

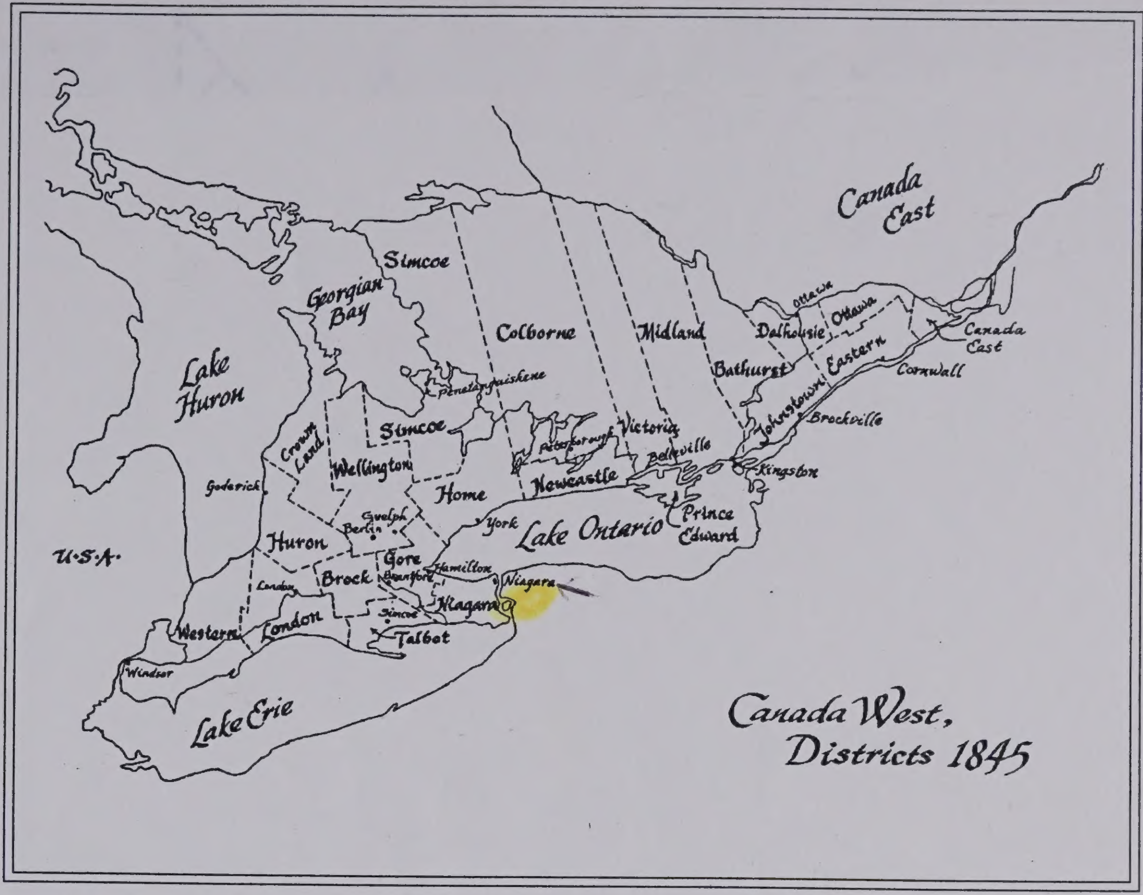
---

[5] History of the County of York, p. 147. C. Blackett Robinson, Toronto. 1885

[6] Sketches of David Lloyd, Murdock McLeod Lloyd, Joseph C. Lundy, Robert W. Phillips et al. Commemorative bibliographical record of the County of York. J. H. Beers and Co Toronto. 1907.

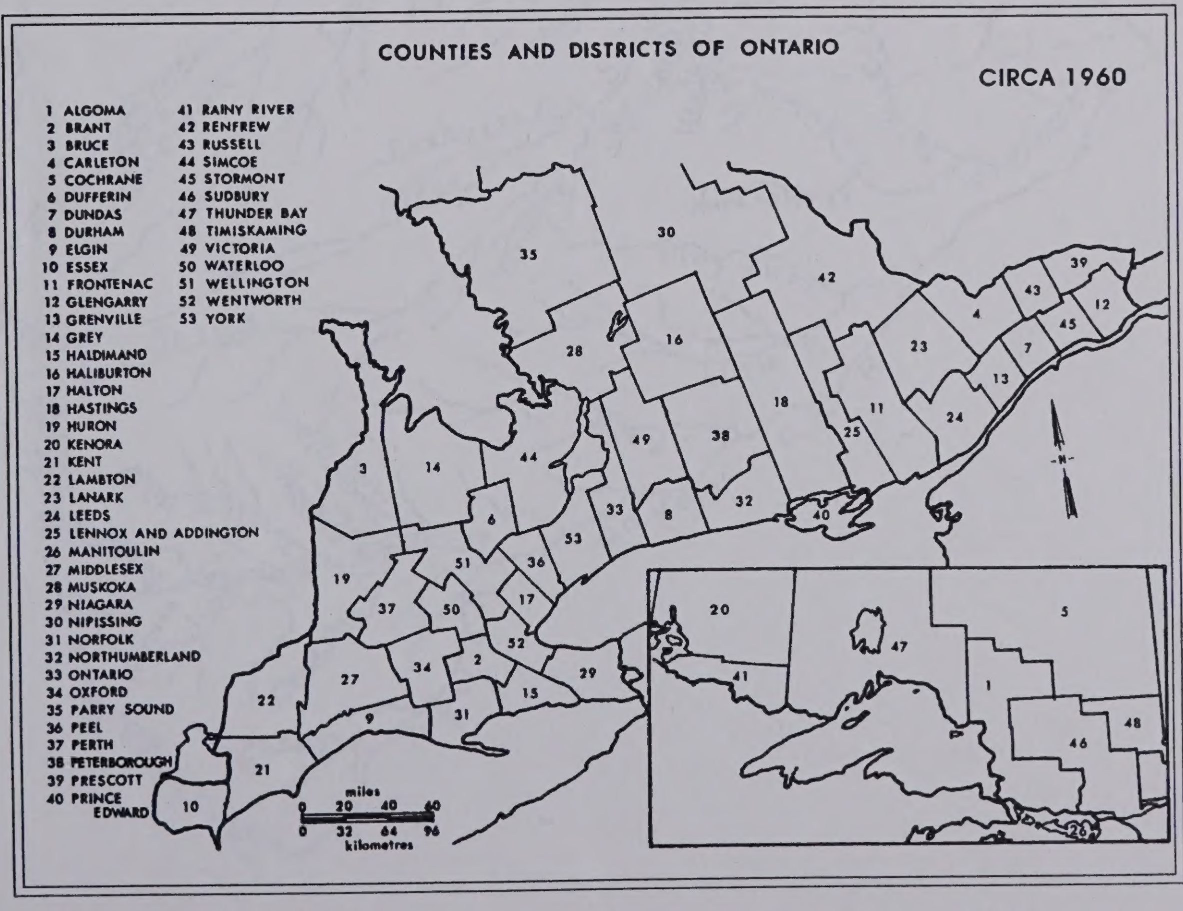
[7] Ermatinger, Edward. Life of Colonel Talbot. pp. 5-10. A. McLachlin's Home Journal Office. St. Thomas. 1859.

[8] Public Archives of Canada. G1 Series, Vol. 8, p. 6, and G16, C. Vol. 7.


Canada East
Simcoe
Georgian Bay
Lake Huron
Colborne
Midland
Ottawa
Dalhousie
Ottawa
Canada East
Bathurst
Eastern
Cornwall
Penetanguishene
Johnstown
Brockville
Crown Land
Simcoe
Victoria
Peterborough
Belleville
Wellington
Kingston
Goderich
Home
Newcastle
Guelph
Berlin
York
Lake Ontario
Prince Edward
U.S.A.
Huron
Gore
Hamilton
Brantford
Niagara
London
Brock
Niagara
Simcoe
Western
London
Talbot
Windsor
Lake Erie

Canada West,
Districts 1845

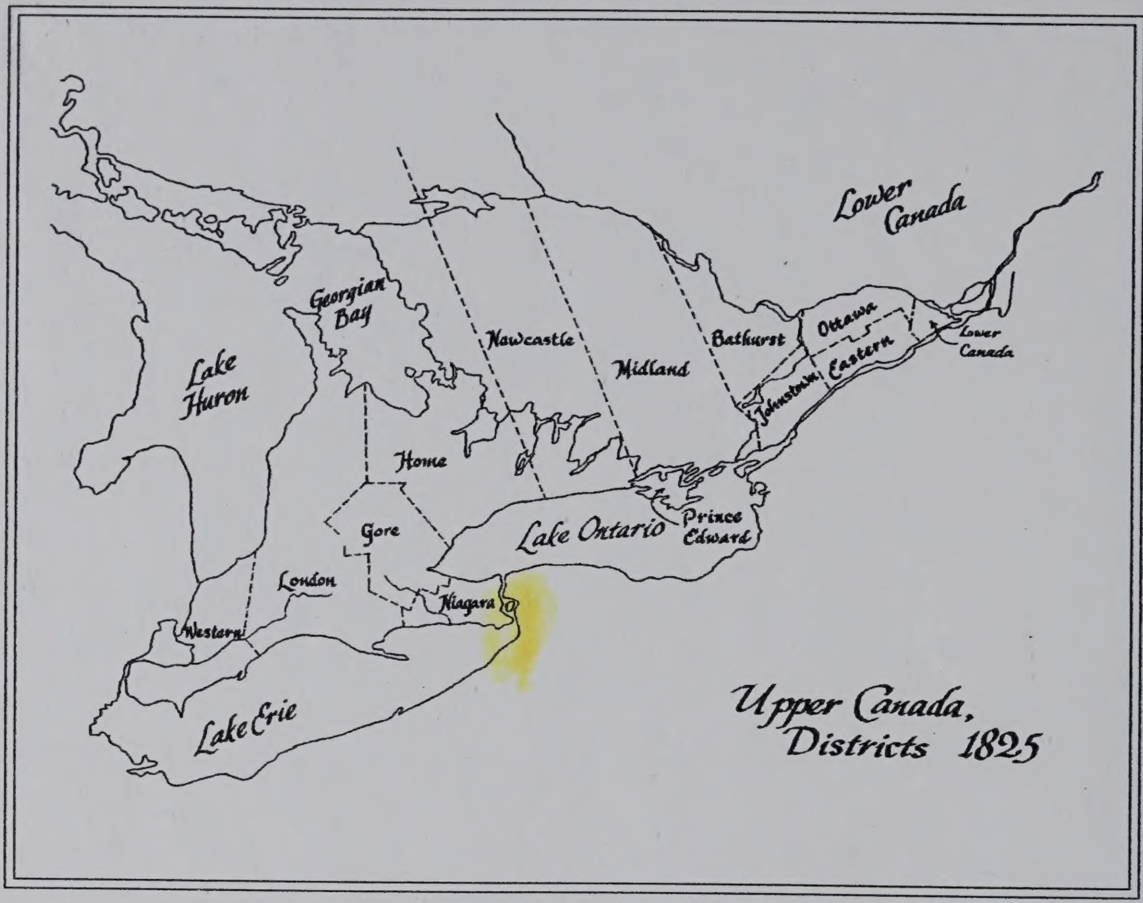
Too late for our Whites



COUNTIES AND DISTRICTS OF ONTARIO

CIRCA 1960

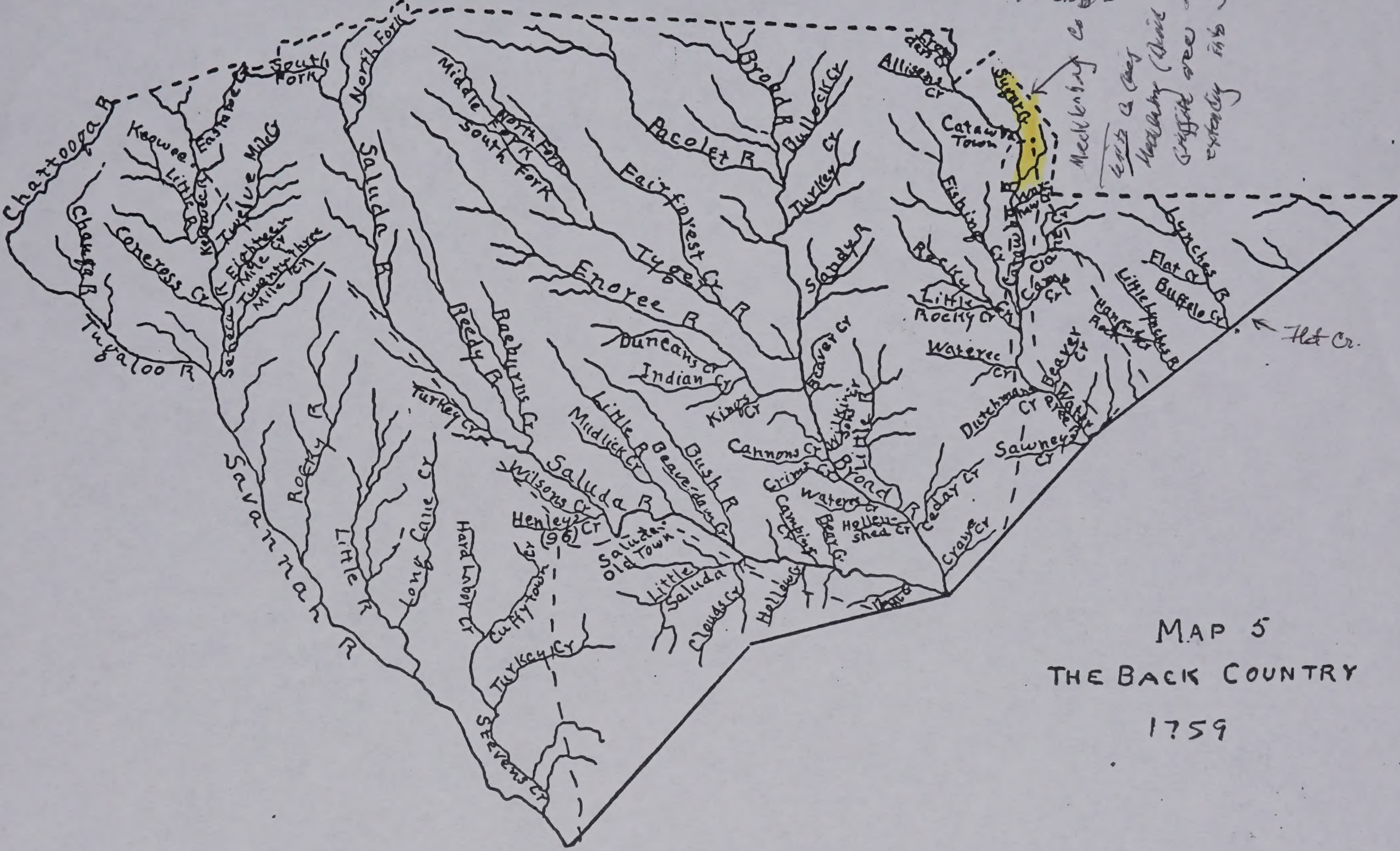
1 ALGOMA
2 BRANT
3 BRUCE
4 CARLETON
5 COCHRANE
6 DUFFERIN
7 DUNDAS
8 DURHAM
9 ELGIN
10 ESSEX
11 FRONTENAC
12 GLENGARRY
13 GRENVILLE
14 GREY
15 HALDIMAND
16 HALIBURTON
17 HALTON
18 HASTINGS
19 HURON
20 KENORA
21 KENT
22 LAMBTON
23 LANARK
24 LEEDS
25 LENNOX AND ADDINGTON
26 MANITOULIN
27 MIDDLESEX
28 MUSKOKA
29 NIAGARA
30 NIPISSING
31 NORFOLK
32 NORTHUMBERLAND
33 ONTARIO
34 OXFORD
35 PARRY SOUND
36 PEEL
37 PERTH
38 PETERBOROUGH
39 PRESCOTT
40 PRINCE EDWARD
41 RAINY RIVER
42 RENFREW
43 RUSSELL
44 SIMCOE
45 STORMONT
46 SUDBURY
47 THUNDER BAY
48 TIMISKAMING
49 VICTORIA
50 WATERLOO
51 WELLINGTON
52 WENTWORTH
53 YORK
miles
0 20 40 60
0 32 64 96
kilometres
N



Upper Canada, Districts 1825

Lower Canada
Georgian Bay
Lake Huron
Newcastle
Midland
Bathurst
Ottawa
Lower Canada
Eastern
Johnstown
Home
Gore
Lake Ontario
Prince Edward
London
Niagara
Western
Lake Erie

Both Joseph Griffin (Aaron's desc)
#39 +
David Griffith


Chattooga R
Chauga R
Tugaloo R
Keowee
Estatoe Cr
Little R
Keowee R
Twelve Mile Cr
Eighteen Mile Cr
Twenty three Mile Cr
Seneca R
Coneross Cr
South Fork
North Fork
Saluda R
Middle North Fork
South Fork
Pacolet R
Broad R
Bullock Cr
Turkey Cr
Fairforest Cr
Tyger R
Enoree R
Sandy R
Reedy R
Raeburns Cr
Turkey Cr
Duncans Cr
Indian Cr
Kings Cr
Beaver Cr
Little R
Mudlick Cr
Bush R
Beaverdam Cr
Cannons Cr
Crims Cr
Little R
Broad R
Wateree Cr
Camping Cr
Bear Cr
Hellewshed Cr
Cedar Cr
Crane Cr
Saluda R
Wilsons Cr
Henleys Cr
(96)
Saluda Old Town
Little Saluda
Clouds Cr
Halloway
Congaree
Savannah R
Rocky R
Little R
Long Cane Cr
Hard Labor Cr
Cuffytown Cr
Turkey Cr
Stevens Cr
Allisons Cr
Crowders Cr
Catawba Town
Sugar Cr
Fishing Cr
Rocky Cr
Little Rocky Cr
Waxhaw Cr
Camp Cr
Cane Cr
Wateree Cr
Dutchmans Cr
Beaver Cr
Wateree R
Sawneys Cr
Pine Tree Cr
Hanging Rock Cr
Little Lynches R
Flat Cr
Buffalo Cr
Lynches R

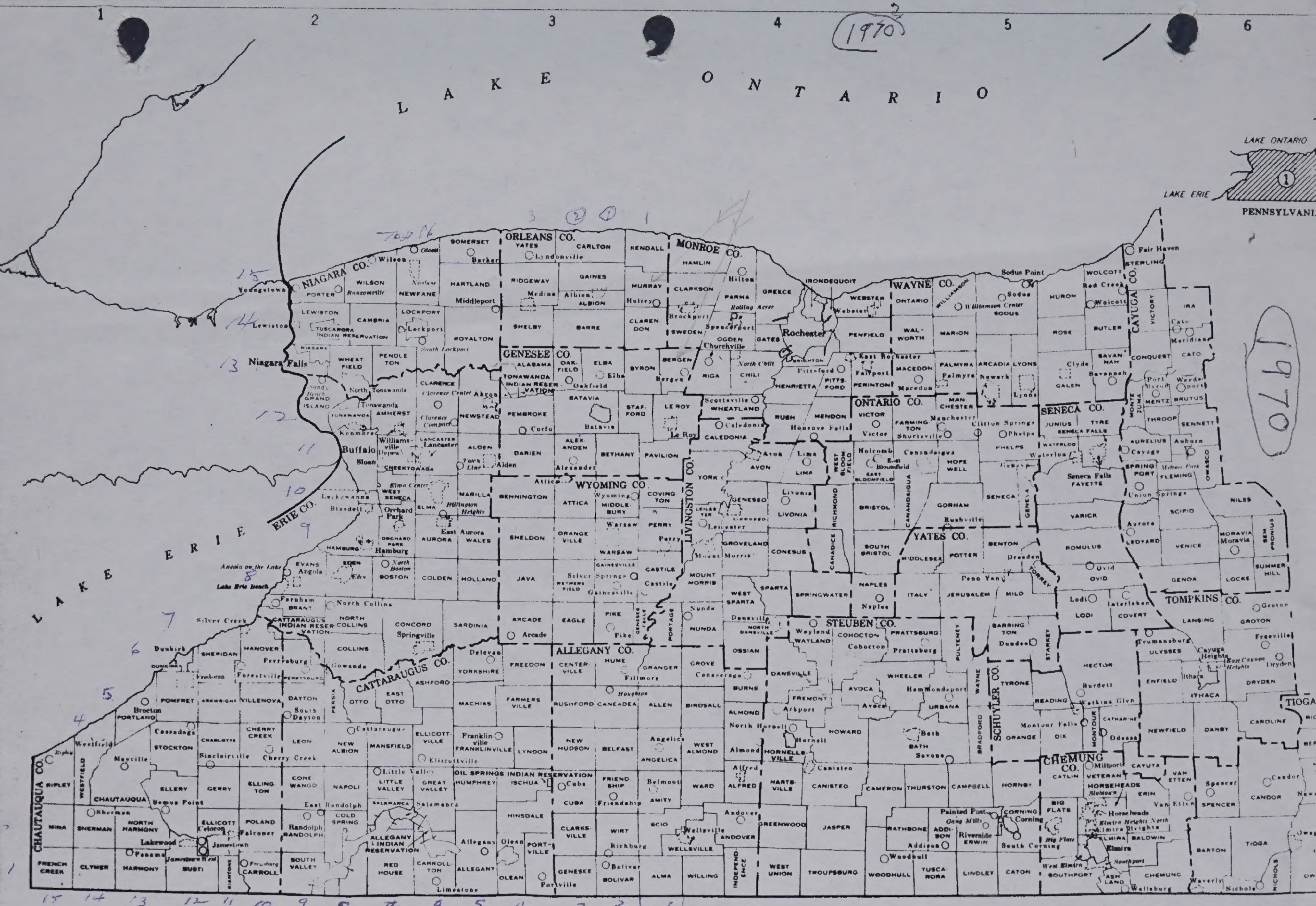
Mecklenburg Co

Lands in Mecklenburg (David Griffith area) extending into SC

Flat Cr.

MAP 5
THE BACK COUNTRY
1759

(1970)


1
2
3
4
5
6
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
PENNSYLVANIA
①
NIAGARA CO.
ORLEANS CO.
MONROE CO.
WAYNE CO.
CAYUGA CO.
GENESEE CO.
ERIE CO.
WYOMING CO.
LIVINGSTON CO.
ONTARIO CO.
SENECA CO.
YATES CO.
SCHUYLER CO.
TOMPKINS CO.
STEUBEN CO.
ALLEGANY CO.
CATTARAUGUS CO.
CHAUTAUQUA CO.
CHEMUNG CO.
TIOGA
Youngstown
Lewiston
Niagara Falls
Lockport
Tonawanda
North Tonawanda
Buffalo
Lackawanna
Hamburg
Batavia
Rochester
Dunkirk
Jamestown
Olean
Salamanca
Hornell
Corning
Elmira
Ithaca
Geneva
Canandaigua
TUSCARORA INDIAN RESERVATION
TONAWANDA INDIAN RESERVATION
CATTARAUGUS INDIAN RESERVATION
OIL SPRINGS INDIAN RESERVATION
ALLEGANY INDIAN RESERVATION
1970
Twp 16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
1
3 ② ①
15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
③ ② ①

SYMBOLS

COUNTY

MINOR CIVIL DIVISION

INCORPORATED OR UNINCORPORATED PLACE NOT A MINOR CIVIL DIVISION

INCORPORATED OR UNINCORPORATED PLACE

SCALE

10 0 10 20 30 40 MILES

TYPE STYLES

WASHINGTON	COUNTY
WASHINGTON	MINOR CIVIL DIVISION
Washington	INCORPORATED PLACE WITH 50,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS

Bureau of the Census: 1970

15 Ranges, 16 TWP So to N

White

GERALD M. CRAIG

UPPER CANADA

THE FORMATIVE YEARS
1784-1841

1794

Re: Methodism
1794 and
onward

The Canadian Centenary Series

GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS
MAY 15 1967
81056

McClelland and Stewart Limited

London New York
Oxford University Press
1963

971.5
U.C.

us/can
971.3

of the farmer does not depend upon the amount of money or bank notes in his possession. . . . It is industry that supports banks; it is not banks that support industry."[30] Such rhetoric was, however, no longer acceptable to a growing number of Mackenzie's fellow-reformers when the larger question of establishing new banks came under discussion. Mackenzie remained true to a traditional agrarian conservatism on this subject, a position in which he was more and more alone. Other reformers increasingly accepted the prevailing spirit of capitalist enterprise that was sweeping the continent in the 1830's, wishing only to break the hold of the Bank of Upper Canada in the interests of a wider diffusion of activity. Just as Mackenzie exemplified the anti-Bank and anti-capitalist attitude of the Locofoco wing of the Democratic party in the United States, so the majority of reformers shared the views of those Jacksonians who wanted to destroy the Second Bank of the United States because it was a restraint on local banks.[31] In consequence, although controversies over banks and banking legislation loomed large in the 1830's, they usually cut across party lines.

In the 1820's, then, Upper Canada began to acquire some of the lineaments of a more complex economy as it grappled with the problem of building canals and roads and of establishing banks. Some sharp disagreements arose over priorities, and since these new projects depended heavily upon the support and encouragement of the provincial government, they heightened the determination of the opposition party to seek changes in the political structure. Nevertheless, the Family Compact carried most of the province with it in its plans for economic progress. The growing resistance to Family Compact rule came less from antagonism to its economic program than from increasingly bitter complaints against its religious and educational policies. To those we must now turn.

1794

CHAPTER 9

Religion and Education in the 1820's and 1830's

The efforts of the Family Compact to encourage the settlement and the economic advance of Upper Canada along lines that would make it a truly British and loyal province were paralleled by an even more vigorous determination to guide religious and educational growth to the same end. Despite considerable opposition the first set of policies was generally supported in the province and could usually count on the backing of the British government. With religion and to a lesser extent with education it was, however, very different. The Compact's attempt to ensure to the Church of England the position and privileges of church establishment and to give that church a leading role in education, especially in the proposed provincial university, were overwhelmingly opposed in the province. The result was a series of bitter and unrelenting controversies, marked with the kind of passion that only religious divisions can produce. All parties appealed constantly to the British government for support, often to be met by an evasive and indecisive response, which heightened rather than diminished the controversies.

I

The leaders of the provincial government in the Maitland era were no more satisfied with the state of religion in Upper Canada than their predecessors had been before the War of 1812. In their eyes the Church of England was still too weak in relation to the other Protestant denominations, especially the Methodists.

The expansion of Methodism into Upper Canada had been viewed with alarm from earliest times. In 1794, for instance, the Anglican Bishop of Quebec reported to the Secretary of State that "The greatest bulk of the people have and can have no instruction but such as they receive occasionally from itinerant and mendicant Methodists, a set of ignorant enthusiasts, whose preaching is calculated only to perplex the understanding, & corrupt the morals & relax the nerves of industry, & disolve [sic] the bonds of society."[1] In 1814 General Drummond called them "itinerant fanatics, enthusiastic in political as well as religious matters," who came in from the United States to disseminate "their noxious principles."[2] Yet its critics had little understanding of the careful training that lay behind the itinerant system, for it was only after serving a severe apprenticeship in less responsible positions that a preacher was allowed to go forth as an itinerant messenger of the faith. By this time he was a picked and proven man, as determined a missionary as any seventeenth-century Jesuit. Usually, to be sure, he was lacking in any extensive formal education, but he was not lacking in native intelligence, a wide knowledge of human nature, and a considerable fund of general information. Behind him stood the annual conference, with full powers to decide where he would go, to support him, or to discipline him. And he was armed with a doctrine that made a direct and personal appeal to a pioneer farming people. Out in all kinds of weather, with his few possessions in the saddlebags tied on his horse's back, he carried his message of salvation for all who would truly repent and come to Jesus. Despite the hard epithets cast upon him by his critics, for many years it was he alone who brought the consolations of religion into the remote corners of the province.

The Methodist itinerant used all the techniques of the experienced revivalist. His approach was often highly emotional. He threatened his listeners with the tortures of everlasting hell fire if they remained stony-hearted. He painted glorious pictures of the salvation awaiting those who gave themselves to God. He did not believe that the devil should have all the good tunes: enthusiastic hymn-singing was a prominent part of any Methodist service. Like all revivalists he believed in the value of lengthy and continuous contact if the message was to be put over effectively. Out of this belief came the camp meeting, which spread from the United States into Upper Canada in the decade before the war. Although a favourite butt of criticism on the part of European visitors and of clergymen of more conservative denominations, the camp meeting was simply a response to the needs of a dispersed population. The violent emotionalism of its early days gradually gave way to more formalized and more carefully organized arrangements, and eventually it passed out of use, to be succeeded by the indoor protracted weekend meeting. In its heyday, however, the camp meeting was a most effective means of bringing the gospel to a pioneer community, as well as a stimulating social occasion to lonely men and women from the backwoods and an excellent opportunity for courtship for young people. It hardly deserves the bad reputation bestowed on it by disapproving commentators, either contemporary or later.

Although the first Methodist impulse came from the United States, it was not long before the denomination took deep root in the province, and began to send up Canadian shoots. Many of the American preachers became permanent residents and naturalized British subjects, frequently "locating" in a settled community as they grew older. Native-born ministers began to have an increasingly prominent role. Clearly, there was nothing in the American connection to prevent the healthy local growth of Upper Canadian Methodism.

Such was the state of Methodism when British Wesleyans, who had already been active in Lower Canada for some time, came into the upper province shortly after the end of the war. Within a year or two they had placed preachers in towns along the St Lawrence and Lake Ontario as far west as Niagara. This invasion of their own preserve was much resented by the Methodist leaders of Upper Canada who saw it as an attempt to deprive them of the fruits of a quarter-century of diligent effort. For a few years there was much competition between the two groups, but in 1821 they agreed to a division of labour. The Wesleyans consented to withdraw from the upper province except for Kingston, where they had established close ties with the garrison, while the American Methodists would withdraw from Lower Canada, where they had long been active in the Eastern Townships, but would continue to serve the country along the left bank of the Ottawa. In announcing this arrangement to the Under Secretary of State a committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society stated that they had "heard of no instance" of the Americans "interfering in political questions," and that the American Conference had positively instructed their missionaries to be loyal and obedient to British authority.[3]

Nevertheless, the Methodists in Upper Canada continued to be vulnerable because of their American connections despite the fact that the preaching body was becoming more Canadian with each passing year. To the usual criticisms coming from official and anti-American quarters was added a schismatic movement led by a preacher named Henry Ryan, who demanded a complete separation from the American Conference. Partly as a response to these pressures and partly as a consequence of their continued growth, the Upper Canadian Methodists in 1824 separated from the Genesee Conference to become a distinct Conference affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States. In effect, it had complete autonomy. Even so, the last remaining tie was broken four years later when the Canadian Conference separated amicably from the American parent body. The whole episode was an interesting example of a Canadian body passing through a dependent phase to achieve independence within one generation.

The growth of other denominations must be noticed more briefly.

To a limited extent the history of Presbyterianism paralleled that of

Methodism in the province. From an early period preachers of the Dutch Reformed and American Presbyterian Church moved across the border and established a few congregations. But these churches lacked the highly centralized organization of the Methodists, and never mounted an itinerancy system of comparable efficiency. In the eastern part of the province there were a few Scottish Presbyterians from the earliest days of settlement, and their numbers were increased with the postwar immigration from Scotland. The first preachers who came directly from Scotland belonged to the Secession Church and to other groups that had separated from the Church of Scotland. It was not until the later 1820's that clergymen of the Kirk appeared in the province in any numbers. For several years relations between them and the seceders were marked by much bitterness. Presbyterians of all kinds were probably the second largest denomination, after the Methodists, but they never worked harmoniously together in these years.

The Baptists were another group that first came in from the United States. Missionaries of that denomination were volunteering to enter the Canadian field from the early years of the century, coming in as itinerants and using the revivalist techniques of the other Protestant groups. The congregations that were built up cut their ties with the American church soon after the war, although the American Baptist Home Missionary Society provided considerable financial support for several years to come. Apart from Quakers, Mennonites, Irvingites, Campbellites, Mormons, and some others that were represented in the province by the end of the 1830's, a brief mention may be made of David Willson and the "Children of Peace." Willson was born in Dutchess County, New York, of Irish Presbyterian extraction, and came into the province in 1801. After a few years with the Society of Friends, he left them in 1812 to found the "Davidites" or "Children of Peace." At Sharon, some thirty miles north of York, he built a carefully designed temple which was the focus of the sect's activities until Willson's death in 1866. The Children of Peace were distinguished not only by their love of music and their intricate service, but also by their strong appeal to the poorer classes of society, in which some saw overtones of political reformism. As visitors in New York State were anxious to see the Shakers, so visitors to Upper Canada often made a point of visiting David Willson and his sect.[4] Upper Canada was, after all, not very far from the "Burned-Over District" of northern New York, which produced so many examples of religious enthusiasm in these years.

The Roman Catholic Church came into Upper Canada with the Highland Scots among the Loyalists, and was further reinforced by the emigration of disbanded Highland troops in 1804. The chaplain of the latter, Father Alexander Macdonell, accompanied them, and he soon emerged as the leading figure of his church in the province. In 1819 he was appointed Vicar

Apostolic and in 1826 Bishop of Regiopolis (Kingston), with a diocese comprising the whole province. He was appointed to the legislative council in 1831. Throughout the thirty-five years of his ministry in Upper Canada Bishop Macdonell constantly stressed the unswerving loyalty of his flock, and consistently threw his support to the side of the executive government and the Family Compact. With the Irish immigration of the 1820's the number of Roman Catholics in the province increased considerably, but many of the newcomers, brought up in the O'Connell school, refused to follow Macdonell's conservative lead.[5]

It was on this diverse religious scene that the Church of England waged its contest for men's minds and souls. It enjoyed important advantages and at the same time suffered from serious difficulties. It was not formally the established church of the colony (although its leading clergymen as well as the government leaders consistently regarded it as such), but it had a privileged position and it received far more financial assistance than any of its rivals. On the other hand, a relatively small proportion of the total population, whether of the Loyalists and the later American settlers or of the Scottish and Irish immigrants from the British Isles, had an Anglican background. It was not until the English immigration beginning in the later 1820's that any kind of mass base for the Church of England was provided. Another serious obstacle was that nearly all its clergymen had to come from Britain, and it was not easy to secure them in sufficient numbers. Until adequate educational facilities were developed in the Canadas, the Church of England would remain in a rather precarious position.

Moreover, the Church was not well organized to minister to a widely scattered rural population. The clergy who could be prevailed upon to emigrate often found life in the little towns and villages sufficiently primitive without climbing into the saddle to venture off into the backwoods. There were some Anglican clergymen who were as indefatigable as any Methodist itinerant, but it was not until the 1830's that the missionary efforts of the Church of England were very extensive. It has been commonly believed, also, that the formal Anglican service had little attraction for backwoodsmen who liked a man to preach as if he were fighting bees.

This view, however, would never have been accepted by John Strachan or, indeed, by other leading Anglicans, clerical or lay. They believed that if the Church could be brought to the people, they would immediately respond. The Methodists and others were having some success only because they were working in a spiritual vacuum. Once the Church of England put forward a real effort, the various sects would soon decline. From 1815 onward, therefore, Strachan engaged in an unsleeping campaign to protect and improve the position of the Church of England, a campaign that he carried on from the inner citadels of power. In 1815 he was named an

Return of Disbanded Troops and Loyalists settled in Township No. 7 [Augusta] Mustered this 12th October 1784 (continued)

Index No.	Descrip-tion	Names	Men	Women	Boys Over 10	Boys Under 10	Girls Over 10	Girls Under 10	Servants	Total	Rations per Day	Date of Certificate	Acres Cleared	Remarks
B787	do.	James Clunay	1							1	1			On his land
B788	Loyal Rangers	Joshua Lowrey	1	1	2	2	1	1		8	6			Not joined but on his way
B789	do.	Rev^d Jn^o Bryan	1	1		2		2	4	7	5	▾5	3	
B790	do.	Tho^s Sparham, Surg^n	1	1	1				4	4	4		4	
B791	Loyal Rangers	W^m Hanbury	1							1	1	▾3		Gone to the colonies by leave
B792	Royal Yorkers	Asa Trevoix	1							1	1			Gone into the States, expected back this fall
B793	Refugee	Edw^d Armstrong	1	1	2			2		6	5	▾5		
B794	do.	W^m Andrews	1							1	1			
B795	do.	Jn^o Lous	1	1	1		5	?		8	7	▾6		
B796	do.	Nich^s Racoub	1							1	1			
B797	do.	Isaac Fredenberg	1	1		1				3	2½			
B798	do.	Chris^n Kenyon	1							1	1			
B799	do.	Ep^m Wheeler	1	1	2	1		1		6	5	▾2		Woman and two children on the land
B800	do.	Elijah Carley	1							1	1			
B801	do.	Jo^s Loup	1							1	1	▾7		On his land
B802	Loyal Rangers	Dan^l Grant	1							1	1		1	
B803	do.	Nich^s Loux	1	1	1	1		1		5	4	▾5		Gone to the colonies by leave for his family
B804	do.	Joseph Avery	1	1						1	1			Man on his land
B805	84th Regt.	John Carrier	1							1	1			At Oswegatchie
B806		Major Watson	1	1		1				3	2½		3	
B807	Royal Rangers	Cary Pitman	1							1	1			
		Total	82	42	20	26	17	29	12	228	198½			

[Dates of Certiicates: ▾1 - 23 June 1784; ▾2 - 15 July 1784; ▾3 - 3 August 1784; ▾4 - 15 August 1784; ▾5 - 28 August 1784; ▾6 - 10 September 1784; ▾7 - 18 September 1784; ▾8 - 25 September 1784]

I certify for those not present being agreeable to the Remarks opposite their Names.

J. Sherwood

Mustered by Jn^o Barnes
Accountant in the Quartermaster General Department

Cap

Return of Disbanded Troops and Loyalists settled in Township No. 8 [Elizabethtown] Mustered 12th October 1784

Index No.	Descrip-tion	Names	Men	Women	Boys Over 10	Boys Under 10	Girls Over 10	Girls Under 10	Servants	Total	Rations per Day	Date of Certificate	Acres Cleared	Remarks
B811	Loyal Rangers	Ensign Tho^s Sherwood	1	1		2	1			5	4½	▾1	3	
B812	Refugee	Western Allen	1	1	2		2	2		8	7	▾1		
B813	Loyal Rangers	James Gray	1	1		1		1		4	3	▾1	4	
B814	do.	John Gray	1							1	1	▾1		On his land
B815	do.	Barth^w Early	1					1		2	1½	▾1	3	One child dead since last muster
B816	do.	Constant King	1	1				1		3	2½	▾1		Family on their land
B817	do.	Jacob Thompson	1				3	1		5	4½	▾1		Do. do.
B818	do.	Oliver Graham	1							1	1	▾1		Do. do.
B819	do.	Adam Cole	1	1	2					4	4	▾1	4	Do. do.
B820	do.	Joseph White	1	1	1		6	1		10	9½	▾7	2	Woman, boy & 3 girls at St. Johns
B821	Volunt'r	Joseph White	1							1	1	▾7		
B822	do.	Ruben Sherwood	1							1	1	▾7		
B823	Refugee	Theodorus Allen	1							1	1	▾1		
B824	do.	Trewlove Butler	1	1		1	2	2		7	5½	▾1	3	
B825	Loyal Rangers	David Mitchell	1							1	1	▾1		On his land
B826	Royal Yorkers	W^m McKew	1							1	1	▾2	2	Gone to Cataraqui
B827	Loyal Rangers	John Mitchell	1							1	1	▾2	2	Do. do.
B828	Kings Rangers	Ens^n W^m Bewell	1	1						1	1	▾1		Woman at Lachine
B829	Loyal Rangers	John Ferguson Q^r M^r	1	1	1	1	1	1		6	5			At St. Johns
B830	do.	Rubin Mott	1	1				1		3	2	▾1	4	
B831	do.	W^m Leaky	1	1	2	2	1	1		3	6½	▾1		On his land
B832	do.	James Thelny	1	1	1		1	1		6	5	▾1	2	Gone to the States for his family, expected back this fall
B833	do.	W^m Weaterwase	1	1	2					4	4	▾1		On his land
B834	do.	Joseph Griffin	1	1				2		4	3	▾1	3	Family on his land
B835	do.	Lodowick Wolfe	1									▾1	2	
B836	do.	John Alkunbeack	1							1	1	▾1		On do.
B837	do.	Chris Tenter	1							1	1	▾1	1	
B838	do.	Tho^s Barten	1	1	1		1	2		6	5	▾1		
B839	do.	Christ. Leonard	1							1	1	▾1	2	
B840	do.	Frederick Dunproof	1							1	1	▾1	1½	
B841	84th Regt.	Serj^t Allen Grant	1	1		1	1			4	3½	▾3		On their land

Return of Disbanded Troops and Loyalists settled in Township No. 6 [Edwardsburgh] Mustered this 13th October 1784

Index No.	Descrip-tion	Names	Men	Women	Boys Over 10	Boys Under 10	Girls Over 10	Girls Under 10	Servants	Total	Rations per Day	Date of Certificate	Acres Cleared	Remarks
B651	Loyal Rangers	Captⁿ W. Fraser	1	1		1	1		~~2~~	6	5½	▼	6	Family in Canada
B652	do.	Captⁿ P. Drummond	1						~~1~~	2	2		10	
B653	do.	Captⁿ Tho^s Fraser	1	1		1	1		~~2~~	6	5½	▼	9	In Canada
B654	do.	Lieut. J. Dulmage	1	1	1	1		1	~~1~~	6	5		4	
B655	do.	Lt. Gidⁿ Adams	1	1		1		1	1	5	3½		3	
B656	do.	Ensign W^m Lamson	1						~~1~~	2	2		7	
B657	do.	Captⁿ Hugh Munro	1		1				1	3	3	▼	6	Boy in the States
B658	do.	Will^m Snyder	1	1			1	1		4	3½		3	Woman & boy on the land
B659	do.	Will^m Fraser	1	1					~~1~~	3	3	▼	3	In Canada
B660	do.	John Fraser	1	1	1	1	1		~~1~~	6	5½	▼	4	
B661		John Smith	1	1						2	2			Woman on the land
B662		Ephrem Curry	1	1						2	2		3	
B663		Tho^s McNight	1							1	1		2	
B664		David Hunter	1							1	1			
B665		Tho^s Fraser 1st	1							1	1		2	
B666		W^m Fraser 1st	1							1	1			On his land
B667		John Kilbreth	1	1		1		2		5	3½		2	
B668		John McKenzie	1	1						2	2		2	Woman sick
B669		Arch^d McNeal	1							1	1		2	
✓ B670		Will^m White	1							1	1		3	
B671		Daly Sillick	1							1	1		3	
B672		John Whitley	1							1	1		2	
B673		James Curry	1							1	1		2	
B674		Abr^m Bolton	1							1	1		1	
B675		Alex^r McIntosh	1	1	1					3	3		4	Family gone to Montreal, expected back in a few days
B676		Tho^s Boyde	1	1	2	1	1	2		8	6½		2	Woman on the land
B677		Dunⁿ McIntosh	1							1	1			On his land
B678		Dunⁿ McAlpine	1							1	1		3	
B679		James Froom	1	1		1	1	1		5	4		3	
B680		James Humphrey	1	1		1	1	1		5	4		4	
B681		James Adams	1							1	1		2	
B682		John Nix	1							1	1			On his land
B683		James Froom Jun^r	1							1	1			
B684	Loyal Rangers	John Rudderbak	1	1	1		1			4	4		2	Woman on the land
B685	do.	Henry Anderson	1	1						2	2		2	Negro discharged from Jessups Corps
B686	do.	John Bush	1	1						2	2		1½	
B687	do.	Tho^s Gooseberry	1							1	1			Negro discharged from Jessups Corps
B688	do.	Jacob Bonestile	1							1	1			
B689	do.	W^m Saunders Jun^r	1	1			1			3	3		4	Family on the land
B690	do.	W^m Saunders Sen^r	1							1	1			

Can

Return of Disbanded Troops and Loyalists settled in Township No. 6 [Edwardsburgh] Mustered this 13th October 1784 (continued)

Index No.	Descrip-tion	Names	Men	Women	Boys Over 10	Boys Under 10	Girls Over 10	Girls Under 10	Servants	Total	Rations per Day	Date of Certificate	Acres Cleared	Remarks
B692	do.	Ab^m Saunders	1							1	1			
B693	do.	Sam^l Weatherhead	1							1	1		1	
B694	do.	John Thompson	1							1	1		½	
B695	do.	Henry Jackson	1	1	1	1	2	2		8	6		5	One child on the land
B696	do.	Duncⁿ Cameron	1							1	1			
B697	do.	Philip Dulmage	1							1	1			
B698	do.	John Weycoff	1	1						2	2		2	Woman at Montreal, expected back this fall
B699	do.	Jo^s Robertson	1	1	1					3	3			Woman on the land
B700	do.	Tho^s Lester	1							1	1			On his land
B701	2RRNY	Jacob Wormley	1							1	1			
B702	Loyal Rangers	W^m Snyder	1							1	1			
✓ B703	do.	Sam^l White	1							1	1			
B704	do.	Tho^s Fraser 2nd	1							1	1			At Montreal
B705	do.	W^m Fraser 2nd	1							1	1			At Montreal
B706	do.	George Steers	1	1						2	2			Gone to the States for his family
B707	do.	W^m Fraser 3rd	1							1	1			At Montreal
B708	do.	Hugh McIlmoyle	1							1	1		4	Gone to the States for cattle
B709	do.	Hosey Moore	1							1	1			Do. do.
B710	do.	Jasper Moore	1							1	1			Do. do.
B711	do.	Nich^s Lukes	1	1		1	1	1		5	4			Do. for his family
B712	do.	W^m McKinley	1	1						2	2			Gone to Montreal, expected back in the spring
B713	do.	Joel Adams	1							1	1			
B714	Refugee	Tho^s Armstrong	1	1		2	2	2		8	1			Family in the States
B715	do.	Cha^s Dayel	1	1						2	1			Woman do.
B716	do.	George Bolton	1	1	3	3	1			9	1			Girl on the land
B717		Will^m Ferris	1							1	1			
B718		John Sorrell	1	1						2	1			Woman in the States
		Total	68	29	12	16	15	15	11	166	136		122	

White

▼ indicates Date of Certificate 27th June

I certify for those not present being agreeable to the Remarks opposite their Names.

W^m Fraser and Peter Drummond

Mustered by Jn^o Barnes
Accountant in the Quartermaster General Department

Return of Disbanded Troops and Loyalists settled in Township No. 6 [Edwardsburgh] Mustered this 13th October 1784

Index No.	Descrip-tion	Names	Men	Women	Boys		Girls		Servants	Total	Rations per Day	Date of Certificate	Acres Cleared	Remarks
					Over 10	Under 10	Over 10	Under 10						
B651	Loyal Rangers	Capt^{n} W. Fraser	1	1		1	1		2	6	5½	▾	6	Family in Canada
B652	do.	Capt^{n} P. Drummond	1						1	2	2		10	
B653	do.	Capt^{n} Tho^{s} Fraser	1	1		1	1		2	6	5½	▾	9	In Canada
B654	do.	Lieut. J. Dulmage	1	1	1	1		1	1	6	5		4	
B655	do.	Lt. Gid^{n} Adams	1	1		1		1	1	5	3½		3	
B656	do.	Ensign W^{m} Lamson	1						1	2	2		7	
B657	do.	Capt^{n} Hugh Munro	1		1				1	3	3	▾	6	Boy in the States
B658	do.	Will^{m} Snyder	1	1			1	1		4	3½		3	Woman & boy on the land
B659	do.	Will^{m} Fraser	1	1					1	3	3	▾	3	In Canada
B660	do.	John Fraser	1	1	1	1	1		1	6	5½	▾	4	
B661		John Smith	1	1						2	2			Woman on the land
B662		Ephrem Curry	1	1						2	2		3	
B663		Tho^{s} McNight	1							1	1		2	
B664		David Hunter	1							1	1			
B665		Tho^{s} Fraser 1st	1							1	1		2	
B666		W^{m} Fraser 1st	1							1	1			On his land
B667		John Kilbreth	1	1		1		2		5	3½		2	
B668		John McKenzie	1	1						2	2		2	Woman sick
B669		Arch^{d} McNeal	1							1	1		2	
B670	✓	Will^{m} White	1							1	1		3	
B671		Daly Sillick	1							1	1		3	
B672		John Whitley	1							1	1		2	
B673		James Curry	1							1	1		2	
B674		Abr^{m} Bolton	1							1	1		1	
B675		Alex^{r} McIntosh	1	1	1					3	3		4	Family gone to Montreal, expected back in a few days
B676		Tho^{s} Boyde	1	1	2	1	1	2		8	6½		2	Woman on the land
B677		Dun^{n} McIntosh	1							1	1			On his land
B678		Dun^{n} McAlpine	1							1	1		3	
B679		James Froom	1	1		1	1	1		5	4		3	
B680		James Humphrey	1	1		1	1	1		5	4		4	
B681		James Adams	1							1	1		2	
B682		John Nix	1							1	1			On his land
B683		James Froom Jun^{r}	1							1	1			
B684	Loyal Rangers	John Rudderbak	1	1	1		1			4	4		2	Woman on the land
B685	do.	Henry Anderson	1	1						2	2		2	Negro discharged from Jessups Corps
B686	do.	John Bush	1	1						2	2		1½	
B687	do.	Tho^{s} Gooseberry	1							1	1			Negro discharged from Jessups Corps
B688	do.	Jacob Bonestile	1							1	1			
B689	do.	W^{m} Saunders Jun^{r}	1	1			1			3	3		4	Family on the land
B690	do.	W^{m} Saunders Sen^{r}	1							1	1			

Return of Disbanded Troops and Loyalists settled in Township No. 6 [Edwardsburgh] Mustered this 13th October 1784 (continued)

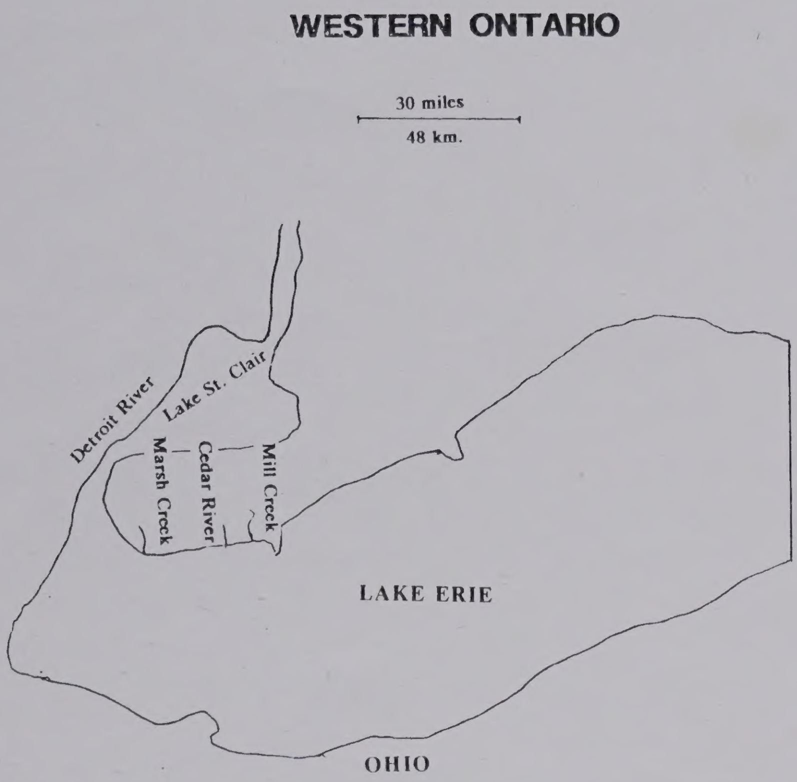
Index No.	Descrip-tion	Names	Men	Women	Boys		Girls		Servants	Total	Rations per Day	Date of Certificate	Acres Cleared	Remarks
					Over 10	Under 10	Over 10	Under 10						
B692	do.	Ab^{m} Saunders	1							1	1			
B693	do.	Sam^{l} Weatherhead	1							1	1		1	
B694	do.	John Thompson	1							1	1		½	
B695	do.	Henry Jackson	1	1	1	1	2	2		8	6		5	One child on the land
B696	do.	Dunc^{n} Cameron	1							1	1			
B697	do.	Philip Dulmage	1							1	1			
B698	do.	John Weycoff	1	1						2	2		2	Woman at Montreal, expected back this fall
B699	do.	Jo^{s} Robertson	1	1	1					3	3			Woman on the land
B700	do.	Tho^{s} Lester	1							1	1			On his land
B701	2RRNY	Jacob Wormley	1							1	1			
B702	Loyal Rangers	W^{m} Snyder	1							1	1			
B703	do. ✓	Sam^{l} White	1							1	1			
B704	do.	Tho^{s} Fraser 2nd	1							1	1			At Montreal
B705	do.	W^{m} Fraser 2nd	1							1	1			At Montreal
B706	do.	George Steers	1	1						2	2			Gone to the States for his family
B707	do.	W^{m} Fraser 3rd	1							1	1			At Montreal
B708	do.	Hugh McIlmoyle	1							1	1		4	Gone to the States for cattle
B709	do.	Hosey Moore	1							1	1			Do. do.
B710	do.	Jasper Moore	1							1	1			Do. do.
B711	do.	Nich^{s} Lukes	1	1		1	1	1		5	4			Do. for his family
B712	do.	W^{m} McKinley	1	1						2	2			Gone to Montreal, expected back in the spring
B713	do.	Joel Adams	1							1	1			
B714	Refugee	Tho^{s} Armstrong	1	1		2	2	2		8	1			Family in the States
B715	do.	Cha^{s} Dayel	1	1						2	1			Woman do.
B716	do.	George Bolton	1	1	3	3	1			9	1			Girl on the land
B717		Will^{m} Ferris	1							1	1			
B718		John Sorrell	1	1						2	1			Woman in the States
		Total	68	29	12	16	15	15	11	166	136		122	

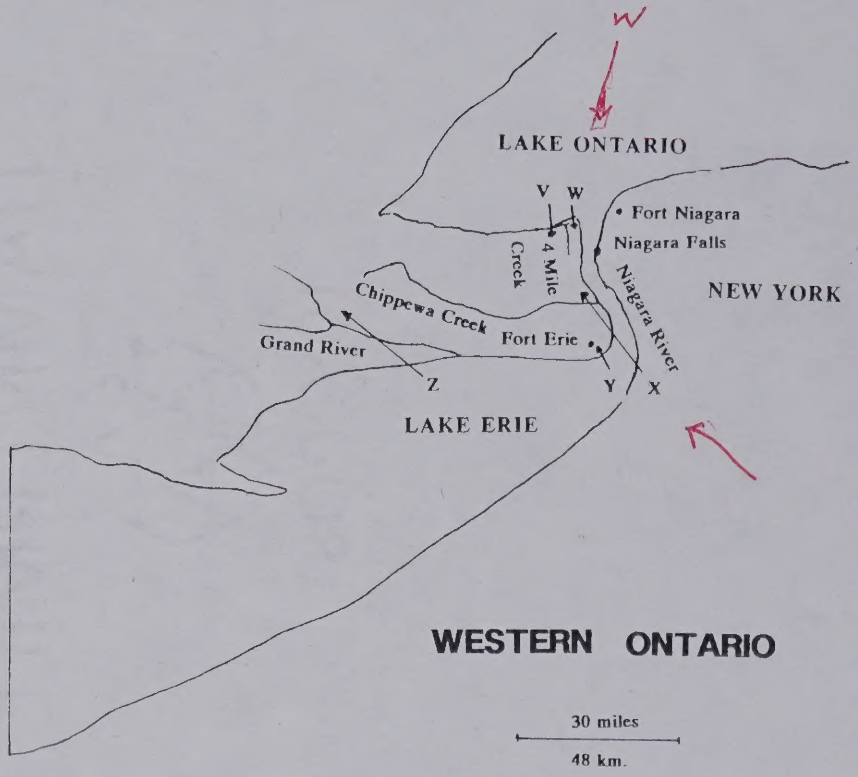
▾ indicates Date of Certificate 27th June

I certify for those not present being agreeable to the Remarks opposite their Names.

W^{m} Fraser and Peter Drummond

Mustered by Jn^{o} Barnes
Accountant in the Quartermaster General Department


WESTERN ONTARIO
30 miles
48 km.
Detroit River
Lake St. Clair
Marsh Creek
Cedar River
Mill Creek
LAKE ERIE
OHIO


W
LAKE ONTARIO
V
W
Fort Niagara
Niagara Falls
4 Mile Creek
NEW YORK
Niagara River
Chippewa Creek
Fort Erie
Grand River
Z
Y
X
LAKE ERIE
WESTERN ONTARIO
30 miles
48 km.

NIAGARA SETTLEMENTS

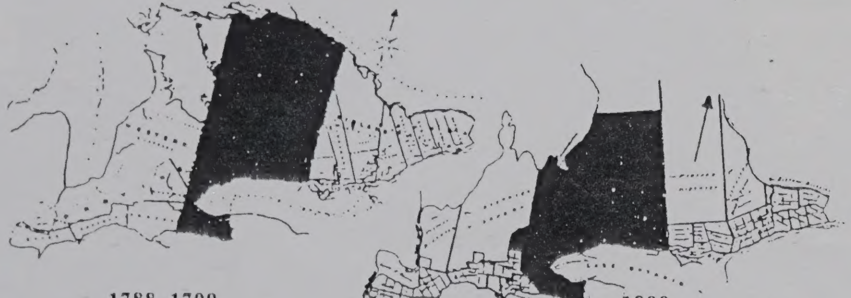
V - Murray's District - mainly Grantham Township

W - TenBroeck's District - mainly Niagara Township

X - Burch's District - Stamford and Willoughby Townships

Y - Fort Erie - mainly Bertie Township

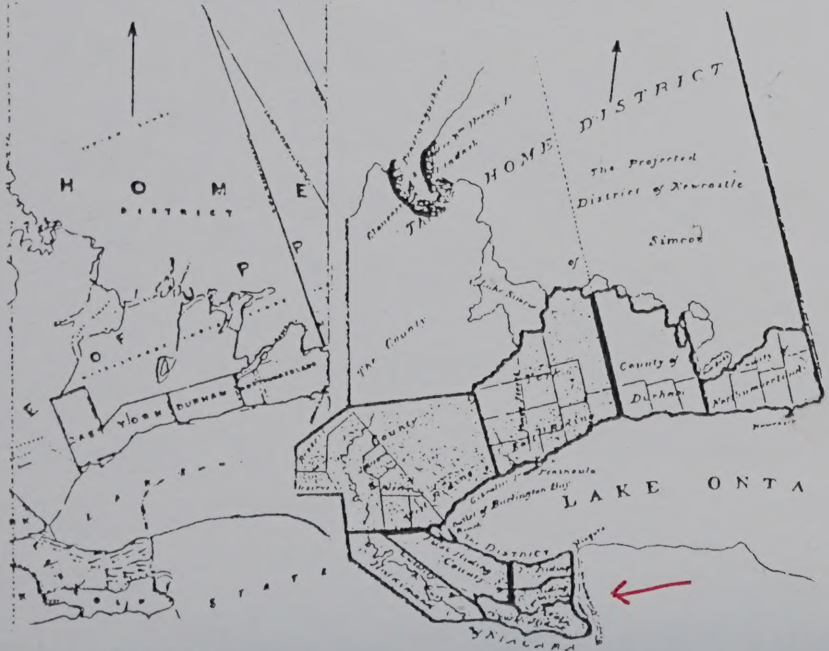
Z - Grand River Landing & Head of Chippaway Creek - Canboro Township



1788-1799 1800

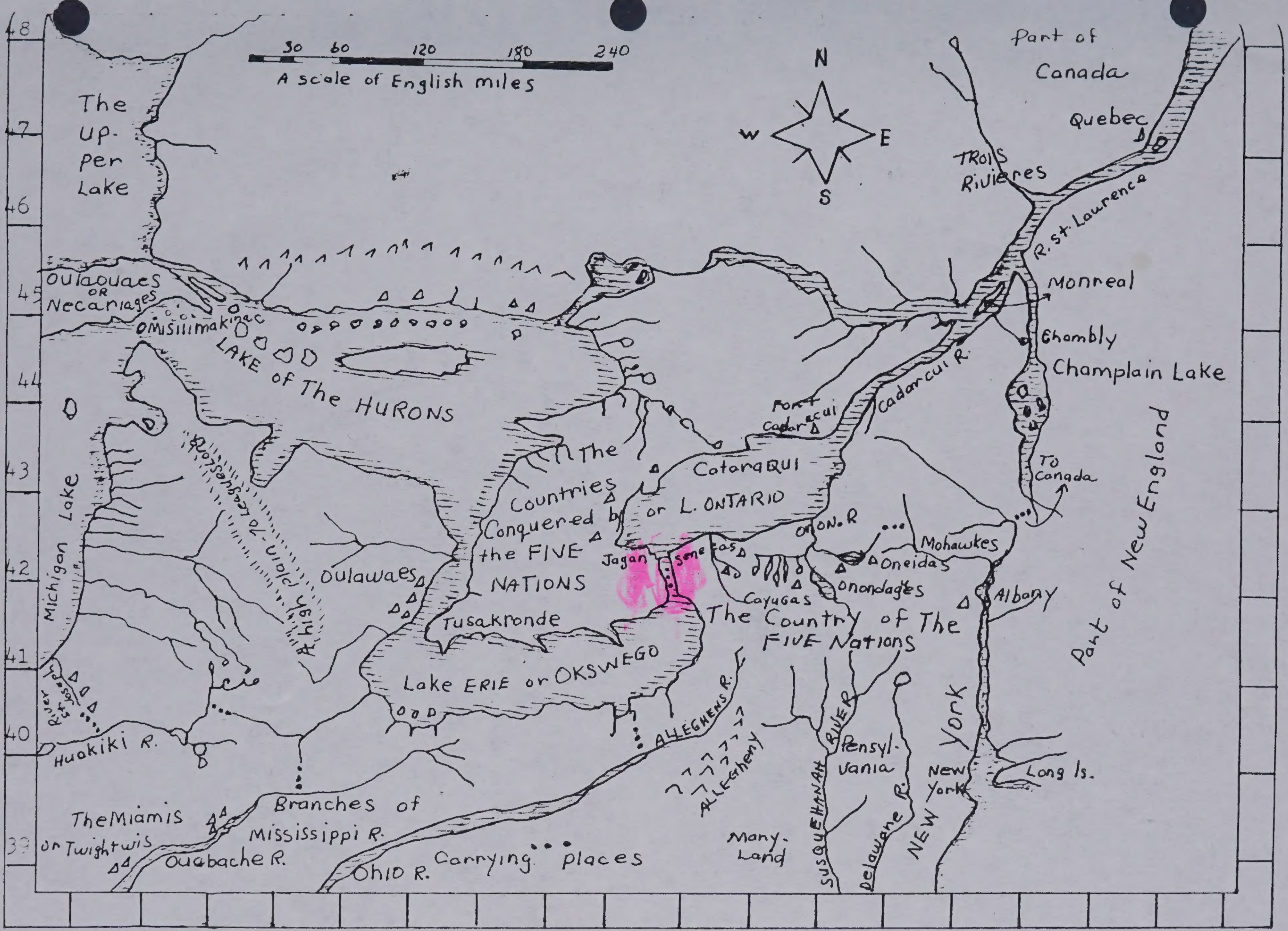
UPPER CANADA (ONTARIO)

In 1796 the Home District, formerly called the Nassau District, consisted of the territory between lines drawn north from the mouth of the Trent River and the tip of Long Point on Lake Erie. This large district included Lincoln, York, Northumberland and Durham Counties and part of Oxford, and Norfolk Counties. The original district town was Niagara and it was replaced in 1801 by York. In 1800 the Niagara region was separated and formed the Niagara District, with Niagara as the district town; Niagara was earlier known as Newark and is now called Niagara-on-the-Lake.


HOME DISTRICT
E P P
OF
DURHAM
HOME DISTRICT
The Projected District of Newcastle
Simcoe
The County
County of Durham
Northumberland
LAKE ONTA
NIAGARA
STATE

1788-1799 1800

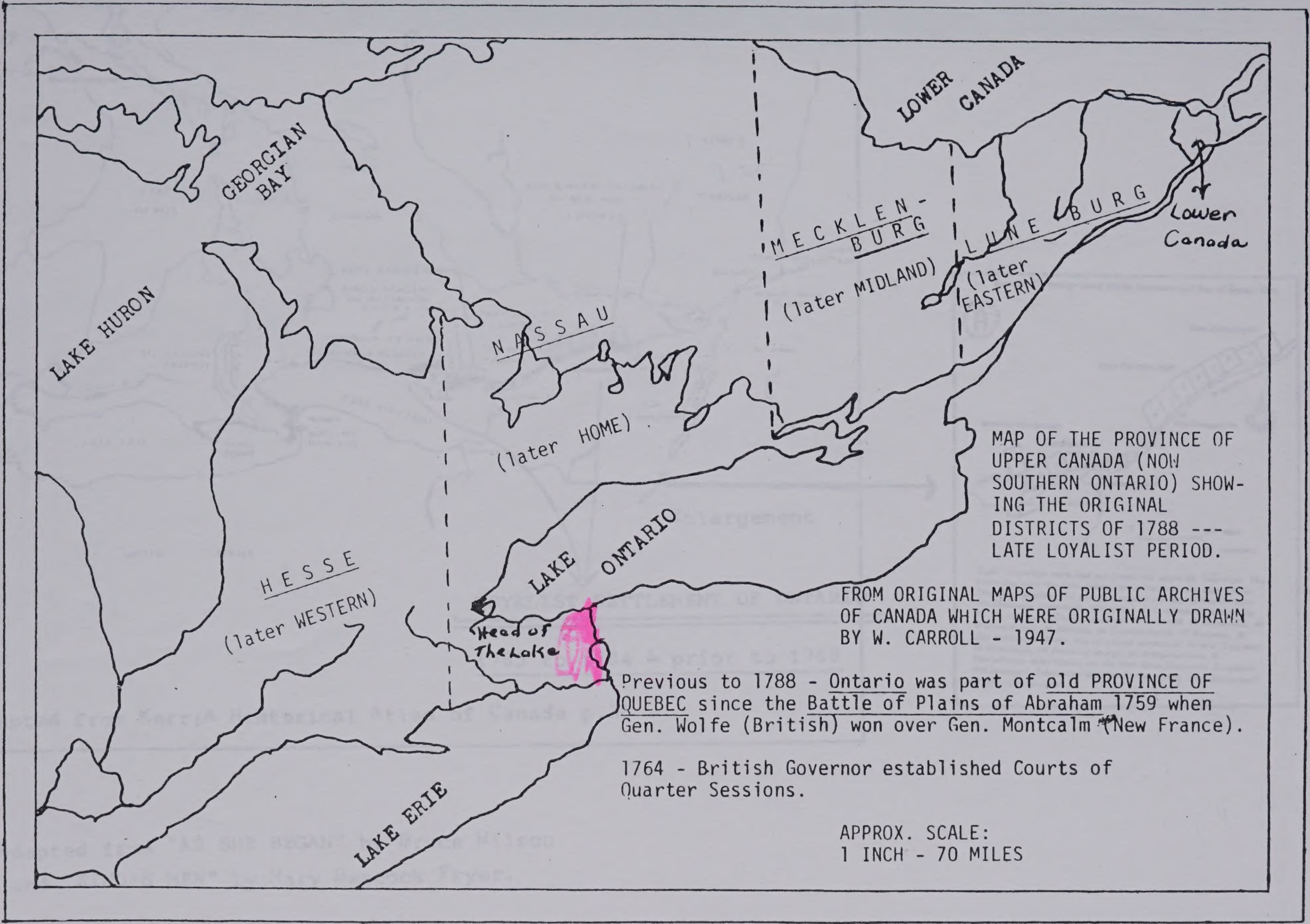
THE HOME DISTRICT


48
47
46
45
44
43
42
41
40
39
30 60 120 180 240
A scale of English miles
N
W
E
S
Part of Canada
Quebec
TROIS Rivieres
R. St. Lawrence
Monreal
Chambly
Champlain Lake
To Canada
Part of New England
Cadarcui R.
Fort Cadaracui
Cataraqui or L. ONTARIO
ONON. R
Mohawkes
Oneidas
Onondagues
Cayugas
Senecas
Jagan
Albany
The Country of The FIVE Nations
The up-per Lake
Oulaouaes OR Necariages
Misilimakinac
LAKE of The HURONS
The Countries Conquered by the FIVE NATIONS
Michigan Lake
To Lesquesalau
A High plain
Oulawaes
Tusakronde
Lake ERIE or OKSWEGO
River St. Joseph
Huakiki R.
The Miamis or Twightwis
Ouabache R.
Branches of Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Carrying places
ALLEGHENS R.
ALLEGHENY
SUSQUEHANAH RIVER
Pensyl-vania
Many Land
Delaware R.
NEW York
New York
Long Is.

Adapted from "The Trail of The Iroquois Indian"

Redrawn from a map in The 1747 Colden's History: from G.E. Reaman

MAP ONE - A


GEORGIAN BAY
LAKE HURON
LOWER CANADA
MECKLENBURG
(later MIDLAND)
LUNEBURG
(later EASTERN)
Lower Canada
NASSAU
(later HOME)
HESSE
(later WESTERN)
LAKE ONTARIO
Head of The Lake
LAKE ERIE

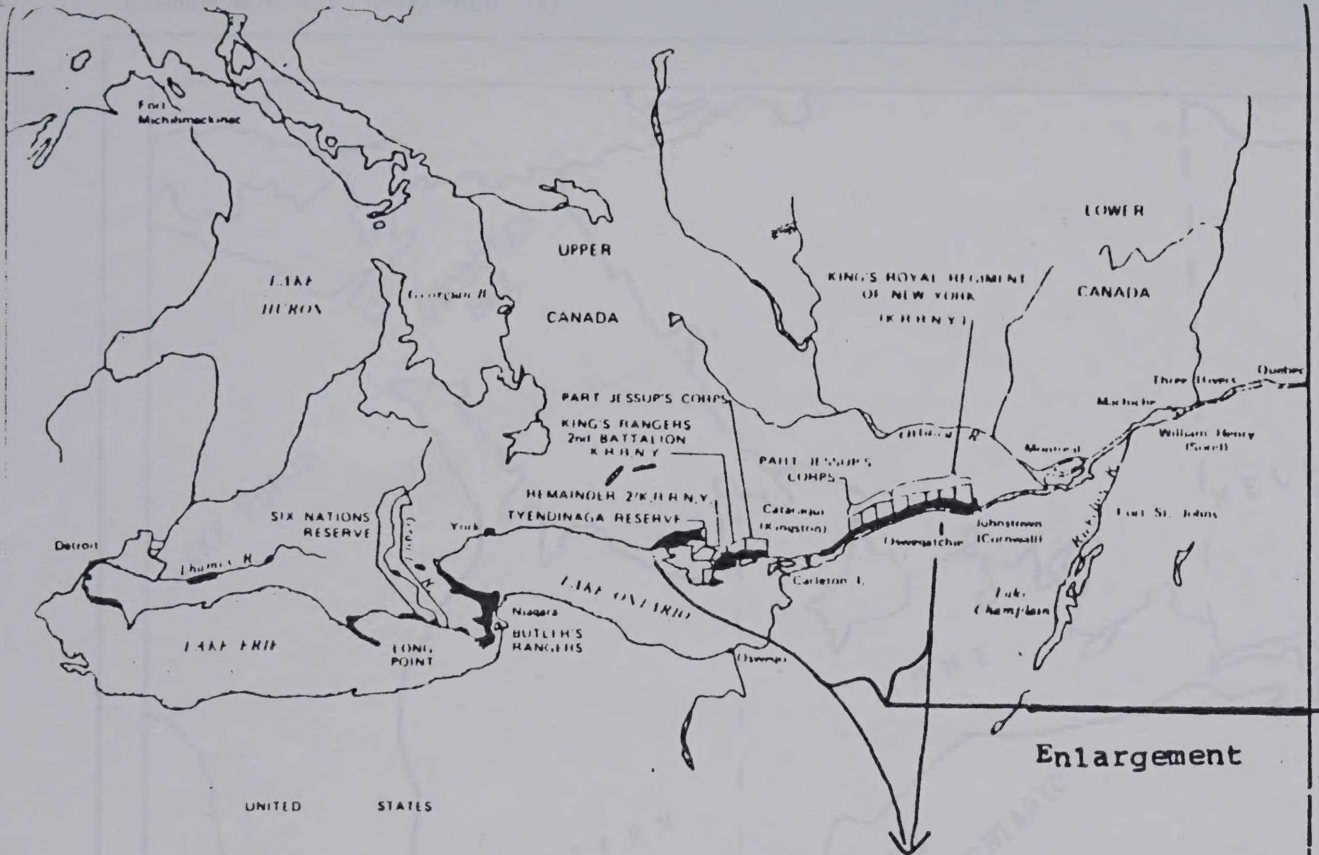
MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA (NOW SOUTHERN ONTARIO) SHOWING THE ORIGINAL DISTRICTS OF 1788 --- LATE LOYALIST PERIOD.

FROM ORIGINAL MAPS OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA WHICH WERE ORIGINALLY DRAWN BY W. CARROLL - 1947.

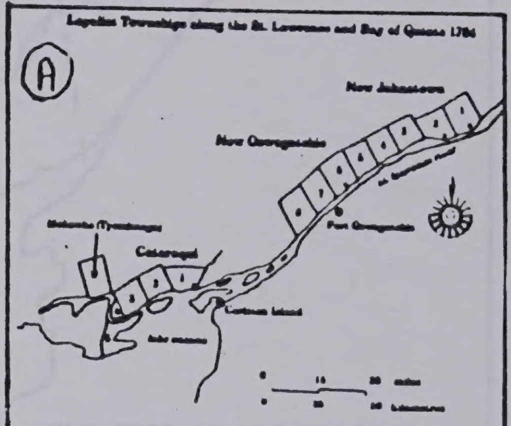
Previous to 1788 - Ontario was part of old PROVINCE OF QUEBEC since the Battle of Plains of Abraham 1759 when Gen. Wolfe (British) won over Gen. Montcalm (New France).

1764 - British Governor established Courts of Quarter Sessions.

APPROX. SCALE:
1 INCH - 70 MILES


Fort Michilimackinac
LAKE HURON
Georgian B.
UPPER
CANADA
LOWER
CANADA
KING'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF NEW YORK (K.R.R.N.Y.)
PART JESSUP'S CORPS
KING'S RANGERS 2nd BATTALION K.R.R.N.Y.
PART JESSUP'S CORPS
REMAINDER 2/K.R.R.N.Y.
TYENDINAGA RESERVE
SIX NATIONS RESERVE
Ottawa R.
Three Rivers
Quebec
Machiche
Montreal
William Henry (Sorel)
Fort St. Johns
Richelieu R.
Lake Champlain
Cataraqui (Kingston)
Oswegatchie
Johnstown (Cornwall)
Carleton I.
York
Detroit
Thames R.
Grand R.
Niagara
BUTLER'S RANGERS
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
LONG POINT
Oswego
UNITED
STATES

Enlargement


A
New Johnstown
New Oswegatchie
Mohawks (Tyendinaga)
Cataraqui
Fort Oswegatchie
St. Lawrence River
Carleton Island
Lake Ontario
0
10
20 miles
0
20
30 kilometres

Loyalist Townships along the St. Lawrence and Bay of Quinte 1784

Eight townships were laid out beside the upper St. Lawrence. The lower five were the New Johnstown settlement, the upper three New Oswegatchie. The first five around the Bay of Quinte were the Cataraqui settlement. When they were named, #1 beside the St. Lawrence was Charlottenburgh, #2 Cornwall, #3 Osnabruck, #4 Williamsburgh, #5 Matilda, #6 Edwardsburgh, #7 Augusta, #8 Elizabethtown. Of the Bay of Quinte townships, #1 was Kingston, #2 Ernestown, #3 Fredericksburgh, #4 Adolphustown, #5 Marysburgh. Also shown are the first three townsites, Kingston (Cataraqui), Johnstown (New Oswegatchie), New Johnstown (New Johnstown).

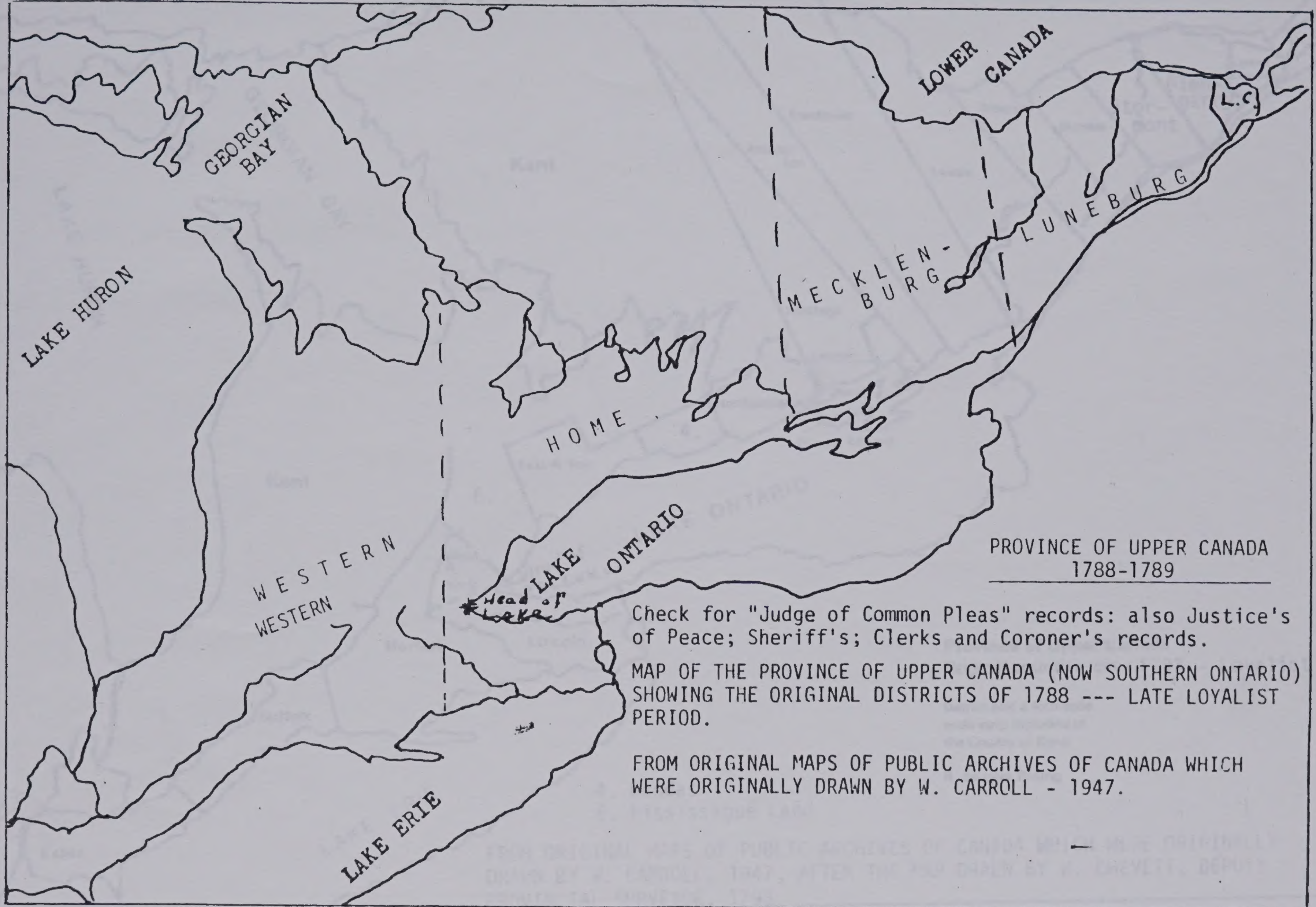
LOYALIST SETTLEMENT OF ONTARIO

1783 to 1784 & prior to 1788

Adapted from Kerr; A Historical Atlas of Canada p.36

Adapted from "AS SHE BEGAN" by Bruce Wilson
and "KING'S MEN" by Mary Beacock Fryer.

MAP_ONE_D


GEORGIAN BAY
LOWER CANADA
L.C.
LAKE HURON
LUNEBURG
MECKLEN-BURG
HOME
WESTERN
WESTERN
LAKE ONTARIO
Head of Lake
LAKE ERIE

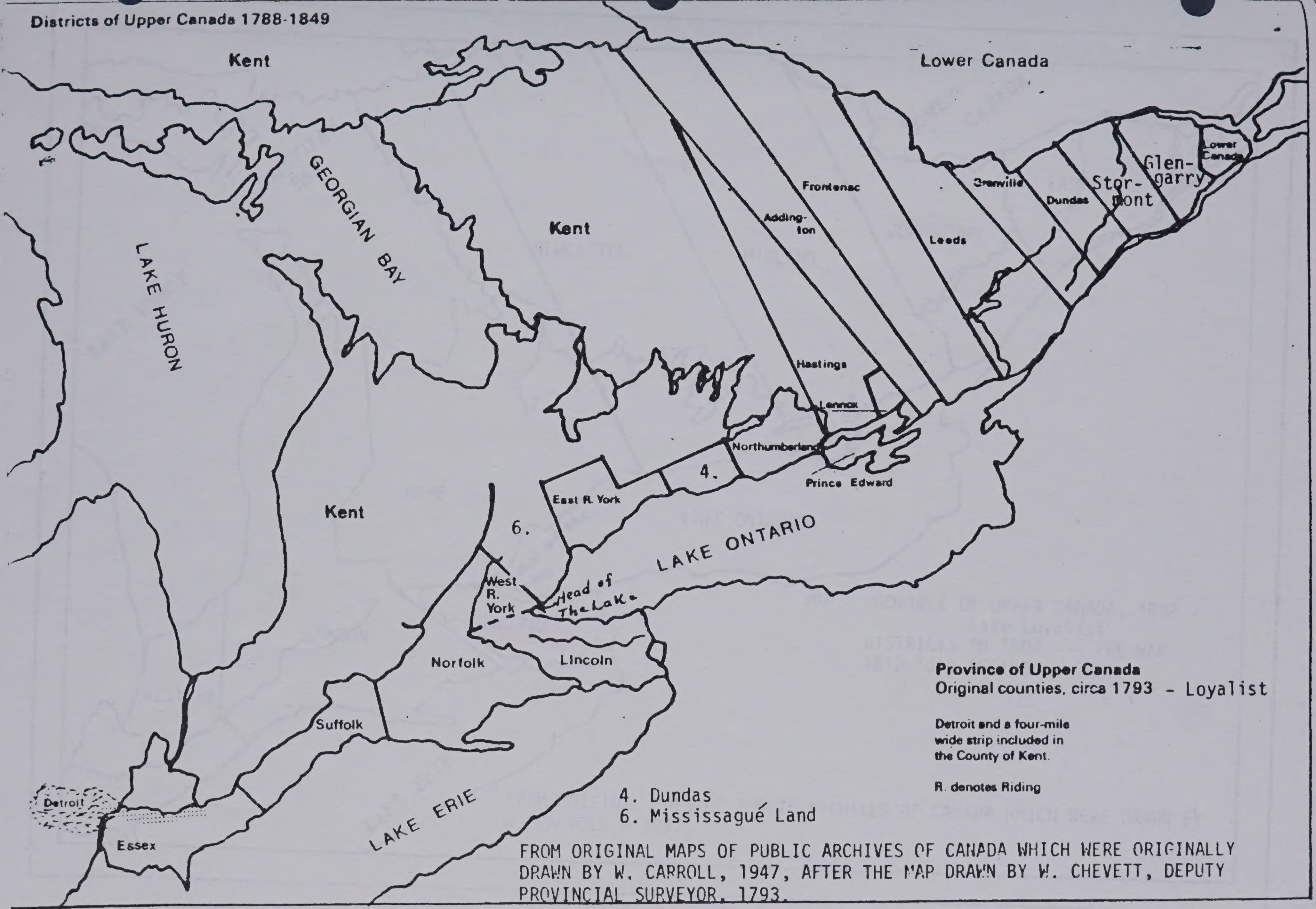
PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA
1788-1789

Check for "Judge of Common Pleas" records: also Justice's of Peace; Sheriff's; Clerks and Coroner's records.

MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA (NOW SOUTHERN ONTARIO) SHOWING THE ORIGINAL DISTRICTS OF 1788 --- LATE LOYALIST PERIOD.

FROM ORIGINAL MAPS OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA WHICH WERE ORIGINALLY DRAWN BY W. CARROLL - 1947.

Districts of Upper Canada 1788-1849


Kent
Lower Canada
Kent
GEORGIAN BAY
LAKE HURON
Frontenac
Adding-ton
Leeds
Grenville
Dundas
Stor-mont
Glen-garry
Lower Canada
Hastings
Lennox
Northumberland
4.
Prince Edward
East R. York
Kent
6.
LAKE ONTARIO
West R. York
Head of The Lake
Norfolk
Lincoln
Suffolk
LAKE ERIE
Detroit
Essex

Province of Upper Canada
Original counties, circa 1793 - Loyalist

Detroit and a four-mile wide strip included in the County of Kent.

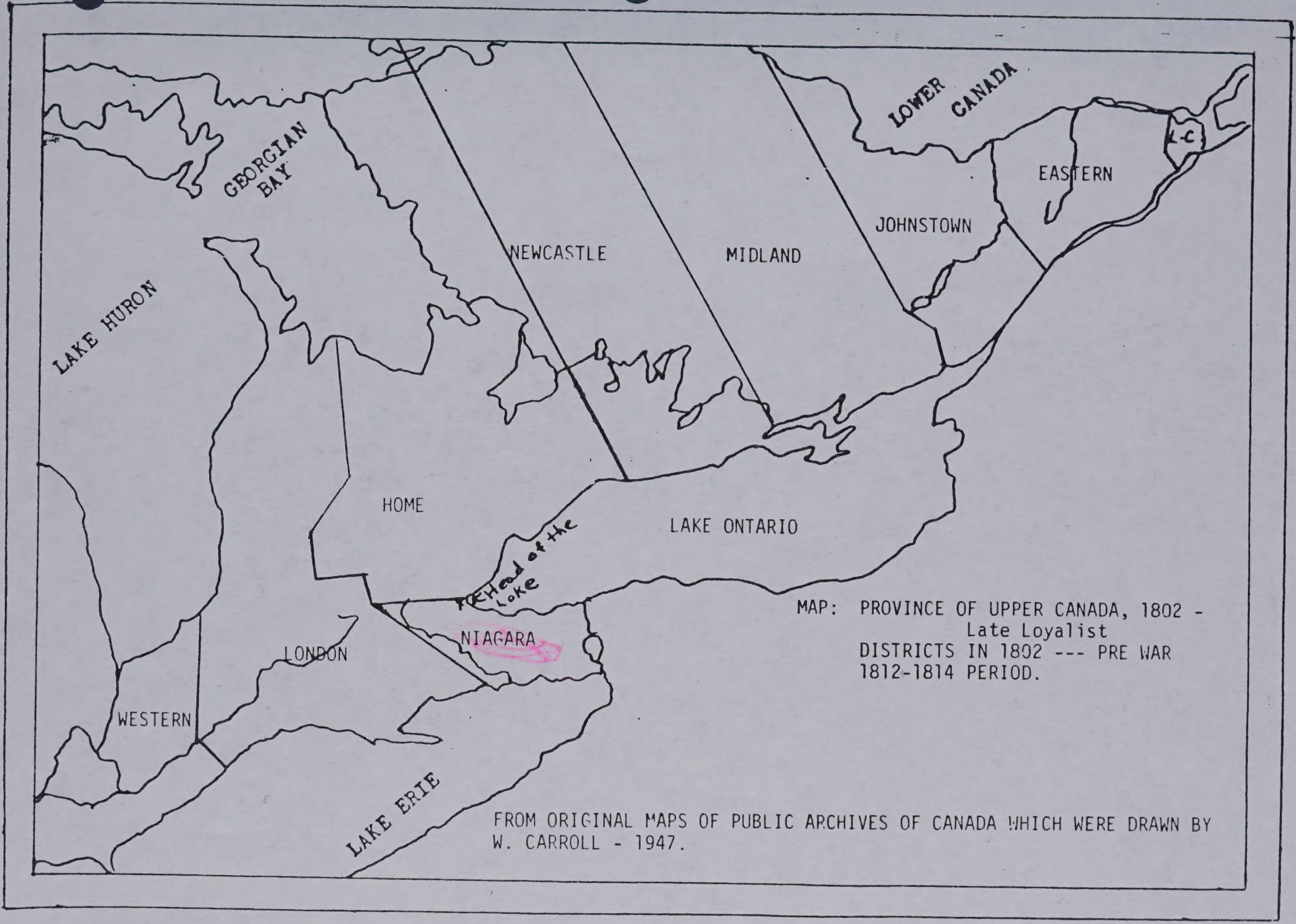
R. denotes Riding

4. Dundas
6. Mississagué Land

FROM ORIGINAL MAPS OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA WHICH WERE ORIGINALLY DRAWN BY W. CARROLL, 1947, AFTER THE MAP DRAWN BY W. CHEVETT, DEPUTY PROVINCIAL SURVEYOR, 1793.

MAP TWO

W. [illegible]roll - 1947


LOWER CANADA
L-C
EASTERN
JOHNSTOWN
MIDLAND
NEWCASTLE
GEORGIAN BAY
LAKE HURON
HOME
LAKE ONTARIO
The Head of the Lake
NIAGARA
LONDON
WESTERN
LAKE ERIE

MAP: PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA, 1802 -
Late Loyalist
DISTRICTS IN 1802 --- PRE WAR
1812-1814 PERIOD.

FROM ORIGINAL MAPS OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA WHICH WERE DRAWN BY
W. CARROLL - 1947.

MAP THREE

(Volume 3)

People of Ontario
1600 - 1900

Alphabetized Directory of the People, Places and Vital Dates

Edited by

Noel Montgomery Elliot

FAMILY HISTORY LIBRARY
35 NORTH WEST TEMPLE
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH 84150

The Genealogical Research Library
86 Gerrard Street East
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5B 2J1

WHITE, Isaac L1878 #YO1-27
WHITE, Isaac L1837 #YO1-85
WHITE, Isaac (FAR) L1890 #SI4-94
WHITE, Isaac (HRS) L1877 #MX1-78
WHITE, Isiah L1872 #EL2-60
WHITE, Israil L1851 #PE1-137
WHITE, J L1878 #MX1-12
WHITE, J L1879 #PT1-29
WHITE, J L1877 #ON1-36,37
WHITE, J B1843(CAN) L1853 #LR1-47
WHITE, J L1876 #OX1-27
WHITE, J L1876 #LW2-50
WHITE, J L1879 #MP1-55,82
WHITE, J L1879 #HU1-29,73,83
WHITE, J L1878 #DN1-6,12,19,32,39
WHITE, J L1872 #EL2-63
WHITE, J L1883 #ES1-30
WHITE, J L1884 #KT1-94
WHITE, J L1878 #LG1-31,36,37,41
WHITE, J (EST) L1878 #DN1-39
WHITE, J (JR) L1879 #PT1-10
WHITE, J (LB) L1865 #ONT23-77,186,268,272,277,328,363,375,382,401,422,440,441
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WHITE, J (MRS) L1877 #ON1-36
WHITE, J (SR) L1879 #PT1-10
WHITE, J A L1879 #ONT22-20
WHITE, J B L1874 #VO9-235
WHITE, J B L1878 #DN1-67
WHITE, J E L1820 #ON1-12
WHITE, J E L1876 #LW2-34
WHITE, J F L1879 #MP1-69
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WHITE, J G (FAR) L1890 #SI4-93
WHITE, J J L1872 #DD1-199
WHITE, J J L1883 #ES1-29
WHITE, J J L1890 #GY1-49
WHITE, J J (REL) L1877 #ON1-14
WHITE, J L L1890 #GY1-41
WHITE, J Lyall L18-- #HL1-70
WHITE, J P (LAW) L1916 #ONT14-465
WHITE, Jabes L18-- #VO9-233
WHITE, Jabez L1888 #VO9-74
WHITE, Jack D19-- #TK1-158
WHITE, Jacob L1878 #YO1-30
WHITE, Jake L19-- #TK1-24,80,81,81,80,81
WHITE, James L1879 #CL1-19
WHITE, James L1825 #CL1-XLII
WHITE, James L18-- #ON1-12
WHITE, James L1866 #HL1-71
WHITE, James L1861 #VO9-232
WHITE, James L1862 #VO9-233
WHITE, James L1815C #VO2-278
WHITE, James L1867 #BU1-53,97
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WHITE, James L1884 #KT1-92
WHITE, James L1877 #LM1-50
WHITE, James L18-- #ONT3-75
WHITE, James L1837 #PL4-76
WHITE, James L1897 #TK1-86
WHITE, James L1877 #WO1-33
WHITE, James L1871 #WE1-73,168,177,182,224
WHITE, James L1837 #YO1-85
WHITE, James L1878 #YO1-15,40
WHITE, James (PAT) L1868 #ONT8-141
WHITE, James (FAR) L1851 #RE9-1
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WHITE, James (REL) D1879 #CL1-X
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WHITE, James (SR) L1878 #DN1-67
WHITE, James B (LUM) L1871 #ML2-4
WHITE, Jas L1877 #MX1-46,57,78
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WHITE, Jas L1884 #KT1-95
WHITE, Jas L1871 #WE1-205,211
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WHITE, Jas (MR) (LB) L1865 #ONT23-141
WHITE, Jeremias L1851 #PE1-98
WHITE, Jesse L1879 #MP1-49
WHITE, Jesse(UEL) L1791 #ONT12-331
WHITE, Jesse (MIL) L17-- #OE1-401
WHITE, Jno L1877 #HL1-5
WHITE, Jno L1879 #MP1-74,82,98
WHITE, Jno L1879 #HU1-38,67
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WHITE, Jno (FAR) L1878 #HS1-6
WHITE, Jno (MRS) L1877 #NF1-38
WHITE, Jno (MRS) (FAR) (MAP) L1877 #HA4-94
WHITE, Jno A L1870 #LW2-84
WHITE, Joan B1785C(IRE) #PB1-75
WHITE, John L1879 #CL1-13,19
WHITE, John L1860 #ON1-75
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WHITE, John L1874 #EL1-106
WHITE, John L1876 #EL1-108
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WHITE, John L1844 #DN1-110
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WHITE, John D1800 L1792 #GL2-85
WHITE, John L1890 #GY1-40,41,43,44,49
WHITE, John L1865 #GY2-575
WHITE, John L1884 #KT1-92
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WHITE, John L1843 #PL7-11
WHITE, John L1830 #PL7-8
WHITE, John L1871 #WE1-177,182,187,211
WHITE, John L1878 #YO1-26
WHITE, John L1837 #YO1-85
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WHITE, John (EST) L1878 #DN1-6
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WHITE, John (LAW) L1797 #OEI-307
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WHITE, John (MR) (LB) L1865 #ONT24-99,12
WHITE, John (PH) L1877 #HL1-41
WHITE, John (REL) L1874 #EL1-106
WHITE, John (SER) L1851 #RE10-5
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WHITE, John H L1878 #LG1-47
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WHITE, Jonathan L1876 #EL1-108
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WHITE, Joseph L1900 #VO2-314
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WHITE, Joseph B L1842 #DN1-113
WHITE, Julius L1890 #GY1-50
WHITE, Justin L1877 #LM1-48
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WHITE, M (MRS) L1852 #NF1-17
WHITE, Marcus L1847 #NF1-16
WHITE, Margaret L1879 #HU1-55
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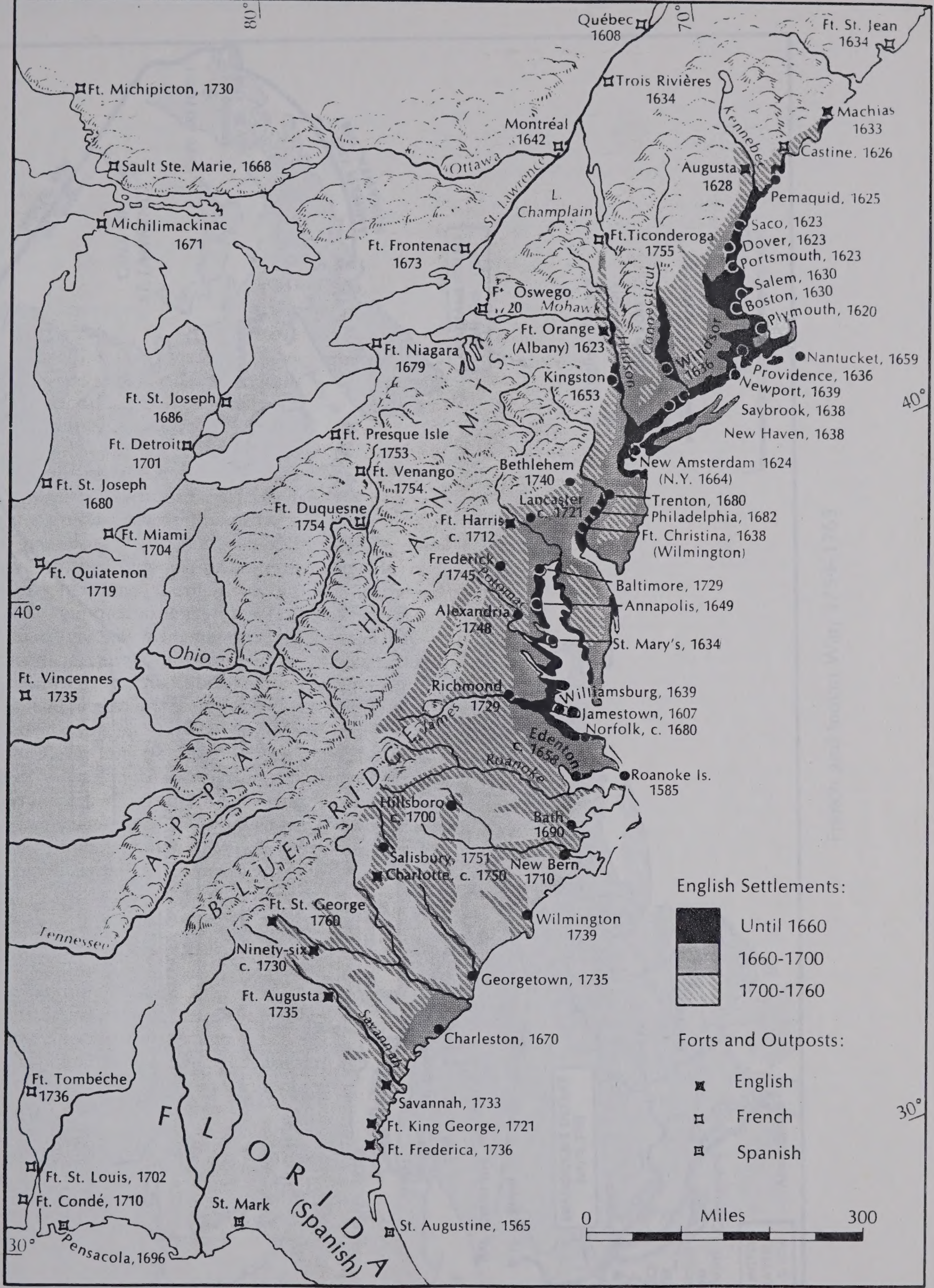
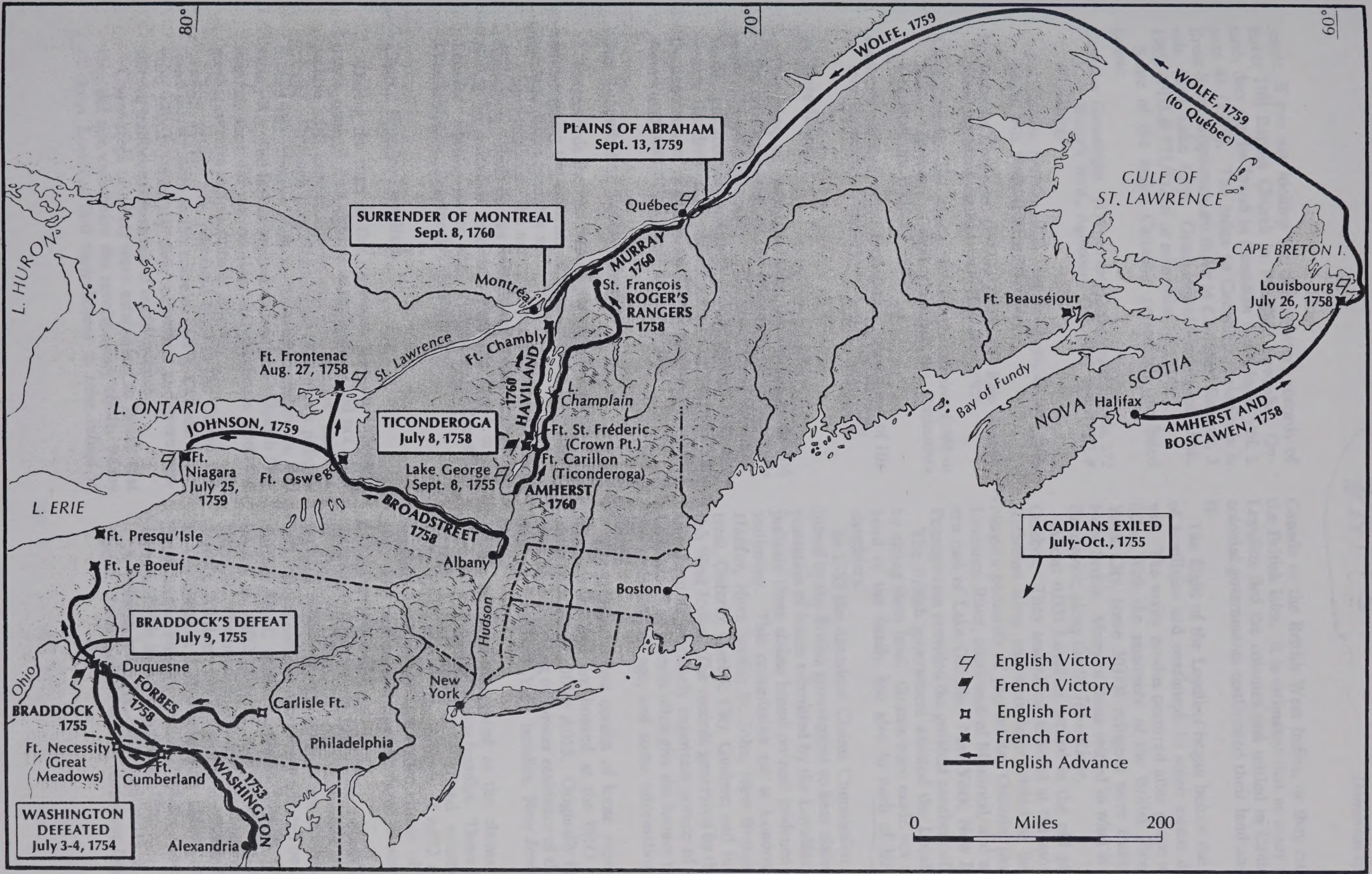

80°
Québec 1608
70°
Ft. St. Jean 1634
Ft. Michipicton, 1730
Trois Rivières 1634
Machias 1633
Montréal 1642
Kennebec
Castine, 1626
Sault Ste. Marie, 1668
Ottawa
St. Lawrence
Augusta 1628
Pemaquid, 1625
L. Champlain
Michilimackinac 1671
Saco, 1623
Ft. Frontenac 1673
Ft. Ticonderoga 1755
Dover, 1623
Portsmouth, 1623
Connecticut
Salem, 1630
Ft. Oswego 1720
Mohawk
Boston, 1630
Plymouth, 1620
Ft. Orange (Albany) 1623
Ft. Niagara 1679
Windsor 1636
Nantucket, 1659
Hudson
Providence, 1636
Ft. St. Joseph 1686
Kingston 1653
Newport, 1639
Saybrook, 1638
40°
Ft. Presque Isle 1753
New Haven, 1638
Ft. Detroit 1701
New Amsterdam 1624 (N.Y. 1664)
Ft. Venango 1754
Bethlehem 1740
Ft. St. Joseph 1680
Trenton, 1680
Lancaster c. 1721
Philadelphia, 1682
Ft. Duquesne 1754
Ft. Harris c. 1712
Ft. Christina, 1638 (Wilmington)
Ft. Miami 1704
Frederick 1745
Potomac
Ft. Quiatenon 1719
Baltimore, 1729
40°
Annapolis, 1649
Alexandria 1748
Ohio
St. Mary's, 1634
APPALACHIAN MTS.
Ft. Vincennes 1735
Richmond 1729
Williamsburg, 1639
James
Jamestown, 1607
Norfolk, c. 1680
Edenton c. 1658
Roanoke
Roanoke Is. 1585
BLUE RIDGE
Hillsboro c. 1700
Bath 1690
Salisbury, 1751
New Bern 1710
Charlotte, c. 1750
English Settlements:
Until 1660
1660-1700
1700-1760
Ft. St. George 1760
Wilmington 1739
Tennessee
Ninety-six c. 1730
Georgetown, 1735
Ft. Augusta 1735
Savannah
Charleston, 1670
Forts and Outposts:
English
French
Spanish
Ft. Tombeche 1736
Savannah, 1733
30°
FLORIDA (Spanish)
Ft. King George, 1721
Ft. Frederica, 1736
Ft. St. Louis, 1702
Ft. Condé, 1710
St. Mark
St. Augustine, 1565
Miles
0
300
30°
Pensacola, 1696

English settlements, 1607–1760
English, French, and Spanish Outposts


80°
70°
60°
WOLFE, 1759
WOLFE, 1759 (to Québec)
PLAINS OF ABRAHAM Sept. 13, 1759
Québec
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
SURRENDER OF MONTREAL Sept. 8, 1760
L. HURON
Montréal
MURRAY 1760
St. François
ROGER'S RANGERS 1758
CAPE BRETON I.
Louisbourg July 26, 1758
Ft. Beauséjour
St. Lawrence
Ft. Chambly
Ft. Frontenac Aug. 27, 1758
HAVILAND 1760
L. Champlain
Bay of Fundy
NOVA SCOTIA
Halifax
L. ONTARIO
JOHNSON, 1759
TICONDEROGA July 8, 1758
Ft. St. Fréderic (Crown Pt.)
Ft. Carillon (Ticonderoga)
AMHERST AND BOSCAWEN, 1758
Ft. Niagara July 25, 1759
Ft. Oswego
Lake George Sept. 8, 1755
AMHERST 1760
L. ERIE
BROADSTREET 1758
ACADIANS EXILED July-Oct., 1755
Ft. Presqu'Isle
Albany
Ft. Le Boeuf
Boston
BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT July 9, 1755
Hudson
Ohio
Ft. Duquesne
FORBES 1758
New York
BRADDOCK 1755
Carlisle Ft.
Ft. Necessity (Great Meadows)
Ft. Cumberland
Philadelphia
WASHINGTON 1753
WASHINGTON DEFEATED July 3-4, 1754
Alexandria
English Victory
French Victory
English Fort
French Fort
English Advance
0
Miles
200

French and Indian War, 1754–1763

WHITE

ample, if you are looking for the cemetery records of Baker Hill Baptist Church in Vaughan Township, Ontario, they can be found in *Canadian Genealogist* Vol. 1 page 41 (1979). The index to Canadian periodicals is Ernie Syke, *Supplementary Index to Canadian Records,* 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1985) (FHL# 971/D22si or microfilm 1421714).

Some of the major Canadian periodicals are listed below:

Canadian Genealogist. (1979-to date). Generation Press, 172 King Henry's Blvd., Agincourt, Ont. M1T 2v6. (FHL# 971/D25cg)

Lost in Canada. (1975-to date). Joy Reisinger, ed. and pub., Sparta, Wis. 54656. (FHL# 971/B21c)

The Icelandic Canadian. (1942-to date). 358 Ross Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3A OL4. (FHL# 971/B2i)

French Canadian and Acadian Genealogical Review. (1968-to date). Quebec: Centre Canadien des Recherches Genealogiques. (FHL# 971/B2f)

Acadiensis. (1971-to date). Fredericton: Department of History, University of New Brunswick. (FHL# 971/B2n)

Probate Records

This group of records includes the records generated by the courts pursuant to the settlement of a decedent's estate. They include wills, administrators' and executors' bonds, and accounts and their appointments. They also include the division of real estate among the heirs and the appointment of guardians. These records will be discussed in greater detail under each province.

Tax Records and Voting Lists

Tax records include lists of persons in a given community giving the amounts of tax assessed. Very few of the records are available at the library.

Voting lists show the names of people who voted in a community. Both the tax records and voting lists are included in municipal records. They are found in the Locality FHLC under the **/[Province]/[County]/-[Township]** or **[Province]/[Municipality]**.

United Empire Loyalists

During the time of the American War for Independence, many British citizens in the colonies did not sympathize with Samuel Adams and his zealous "band of rebels." Although they disapproved of Britain's policies toward the colonies such as the trade regulations, the Stamp Act, and lack of representation in the British Parliament, they did not consider independence from the mother country to be a suitable solution.

These people who remained loyal to the Crown suffered greatly, both in the colonies and in Canada. They were called Tories by their neighbors and were considered traitors to the cause of independence.

Committees of safety were established to insure that they did not undermine the revolutionary effort. Many of these Loyalists fled their homes to take refuge in Canada or the British West Indies, or they returned to the British Isles. It is estimated that as many as 40,000 Loyalists fled the colonies and settled in Canada. The colonial governments confiscated their land and property.

The flight of the Loyalists began before the outbreak of hostilities and continued, to some extent during the war. The major exodus occurred after peace was established.With the assistance of the British Fleet at New York City, some 30,000 refugees were transported to Nova Scotia. Many of these settled in what is now New ✓ Brunswick, along the St. John River.

About 6,000 Loyalists settled in the old province of Quebec. They assembled at Sorel at the mouth of the Richelieu River and were later settled on lands in the ✓Niagara peninsula of present-day Ontario, along the St. Laurence River, southwest of Montreal, and at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania provided the greatest numbers of Loyalists. The British government assisted the Loyalist settlers by giving them land. Grants were made not only to the head of the family, but also to each of his sons and daughters.

White

In 1783 the American Claims Commission was established by the British government to hear claims for compensation of losses submitted by the Loyalists and to adjudicate these claims based on real evidence and sworn testimony. This commission sat at London, England; Halifax, Nova Scotia; St. John, New Brunswick; Montreal, Ontario; Quebec City, Quebec; and Jamaica, British West Indies. The records generated by this commission form an extremely important source of data about Loyalists. The records often give the former residence of the claimant, his age, and some information about his family.

The original claims consist of loose papers grouped into bundles and are housed at the PRO in London. They form Audit Office A013. Originally these claims were filed according to former residence of the claimant, thus we have New York bundles, New Jersey bundles, etc.

This system disintegrated as the claims multiplied. Thus we have miscellaneous bundles. These claims were abstracted and recorded in bound volumes forming Audit Office A012. The records of A012 are valuable because some papers and entire claims of A013 were lost. The only record now preserved of some claims is the abstracts in A012.

Another collection of related documents is contained in Treasury Office T79 in 151 bundles at the Public Records Office. The library does not have the records of T79. The records of A012 and A013 can be found in the Subject FHLC under American Loyalist Claims. The books in A012 are on microfilms FHL# 1401467-1401498. The bundles are on microfilms FHL# 366694-366883. All three sets of records are indexed. The index to the books is FHL# microfilm 162010, item 1. The index to the bundles is item 2 of the same film. The index to T79 is item 3 of the same film.

A printed index to A012 and A013 is Clifford S. Dwyer, *Index Series I and II, American Loyalist Claims*

White (& Barry?)

(Funiak Springs, Fla.: Ram Publishing, 1985). (FHL# 973/R2d and 973/R2da). Series I of these indexes is A012. Series II is A013.

Peter Wilson Coldham has abstracted and published the records from the first thirty-seven bundles in *American Loyalist Claims, Vol. I* (Washington, D.C.: National Genealogical Society, 1980). (FHL# 973/R2cp).

Probably no subject of Canadian genealogy has more extensive literature than the United Empire Loyalists. Below are cited only the more outstanding references. Other useful sources can be found in the Subject FHLC under **American Loyalists.** The reader is also referred to the previously cited sources in this chapter under Canadian military records, RG8 or the old "C" series.

The researcher with Loyalist ancestry is faced with a two-fold problem. He or she must not only search the records generated in Canada, but also those produced in the American colony where the ancestor lived. For that reason, sources from both sides of the border are cited below.

Palmer, Gregory, ed. *A Bibliography of Loyalist Source Material in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain*. Westport, Conn.: Meckler Publishing with American Antiquarian Society, 1982. (FHL# 973/F23b1)

_____. *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*. Westport, Conn.: Meckler Publishing, 1984. (FHL# 973/F2slba)

Toronto Branch, the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada. *Loyalists Lineages of Canada 1783-1983*. Agincourt, Ont.: Generation Press, 1984. (FHL# 971/D21)

Sabine, Lorenzo. *Loyalists of the American Revolution*. 2 vols. Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1979. (FHL# 973/F2slb)

Clark, Murtie, J. *Loyalists of the Southern Campaign*. 3 vols. Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1981. (FHL# 973/F2clm)

Scott, Kenneth. *Rivington's New York Newspaper, Excerpts from the Loyalist Press, 1773-1783*. Binghampton: The New York Historical Society, 1973. (FHL# 974/H2r)

Cruikshank, Ernest A. *The King's Royal Regiment of New York*. rpt. ed., Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1984. (FHL# 971/M2ce)

Yoshpe, Harry B. *The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in the Southern District of the State of New York*. New York: Columbia University, 1939. (FHL# 974.7/R2y)

? Kelby, William. *Orderly Book of the Three Battalions of Loyalists*. New York: New York Historical Society, 1917. (FHL# 928188, item 2)

Tyler, John W. *Connecticut Loyalists*. New Orleans, La.: Polyanthos, 1977. (FHL# 974.69/R2t)

Siebert, Wilbur H. *Loyalists in East Florida 1775-1785*. 2 vols. DeLand: Florida State Historical Society, 1929. (FHL# 975.4/B4f#9)

Stark, James H. *The Loyalists of Massachusetts and the Other Side of the American Revolution*. Boston: J. H. Stark, 1810. (FHL# 547196 item 1)

Maas, David E. *Divided Hearts, Massachusetts Loyalists, 1765-1790*. Published by New England Historical Society, 1980. (FHL# 974.4/F2m)

Jones, Edward A. *The Loyalists of Massachusetts*. Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969. (FHL# 974.4/D3je/1969)

Mitchell, Robert G. *Loyalists Georgia*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, Inc., 1964. (FHL# 975.8/H2ml)

Peck, Epaphroditus. *The Loyalists of Connecticut*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, Inc., 1978. (FHL# 974.6/H2c Ser. 31)

Jones, Edward A. *The Loyalists of New Jersey*. Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1927. (FHL# 974.9/C4n/vol.10 or microfilm 1036367, item 3)

Hancock, Harold B. *The Delaware Loyalists*. Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware, 1940. (FHL# 975.1/F21 or microfilm 1000154, item 3)

DeMond, Robert O. *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1940. (FHL# 975.6/F2d)

Vital Records

This group includes records of birth, death, and marriage generated by the provincial governments of Canada. Each province has custody of its own records. None of the provincial vital records are available at the library. The content, availability, and beginning dates differ with each province.

Some records kept by the counties or districts before provincial registration began are available at the library. These will be presented under each province heading.

Of special value to the researcher are two collections of vital records concerning Canadians in Erie County, New York:

Jewitt, Allen E. *Buffalo, Erie County, New York Birth Records: Canadian Parentage Extracts*. [1875-1882] 3 vols. Hamburg, N.Y.: The Author, 1984. (FHL# 974.797/V2ja)

_____. *Early Canadian Marriages in Erie County, New York 1840-1890*. 12 vols. Hamburg, N.Y.: The Author, 1982. (FHL# 974.796/V2j)

MARITIME PROVINCES

Historical Background

1604-05	De Monts and Champlain establish a temporary colony near Annapolis Royal.
1621	British attempt first colonization.
1686	Ninety French Acadian families locate at Point Royal.
1713	Treaty of Utrecht cedes Acadia to the British.
1720	Three hundred French settlers establish a colony at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.

929.1 M571
1996
352400050841
1hlh
Merriman. Brenda Dougall.
Genealogy in Ontario :
searching the records

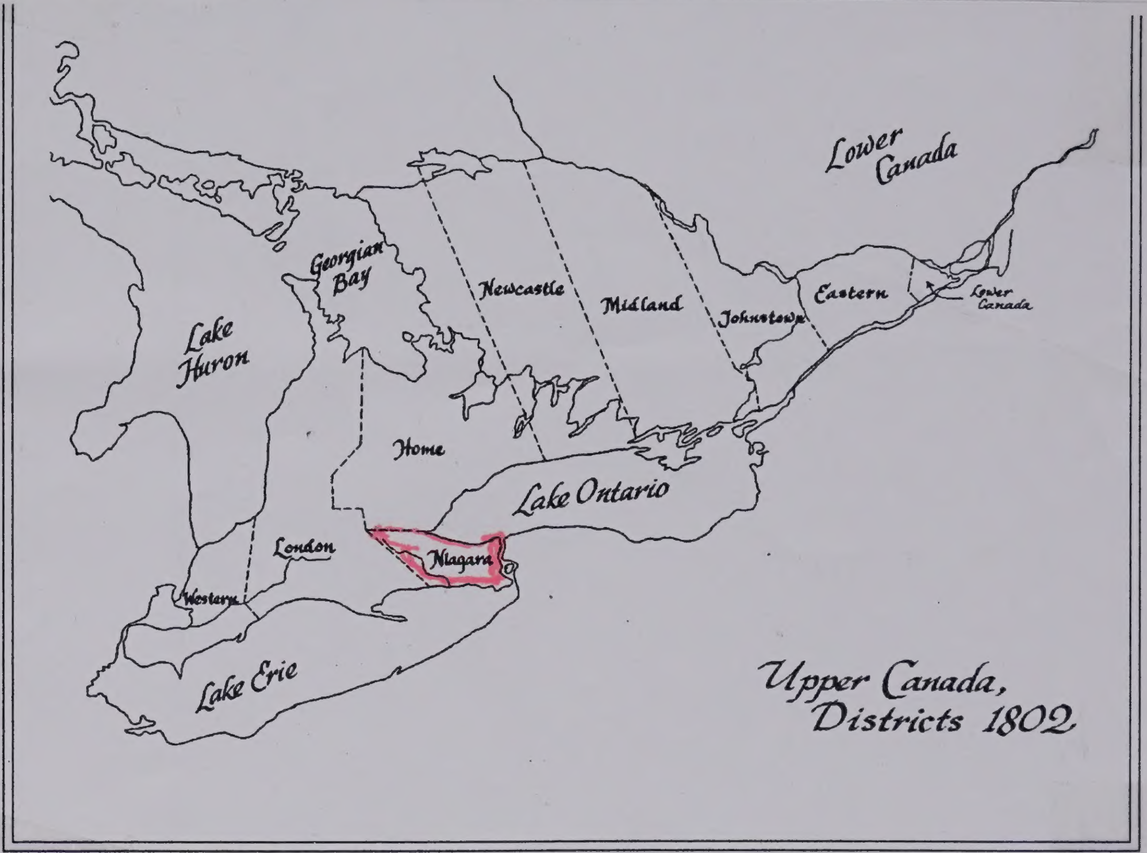
John White

Genealogy in Ontario: Searching the Records

3rd edition

MPL
929.1 M571
(1996)

Brenda Dougall Merriman
BA, CGRS, CGL

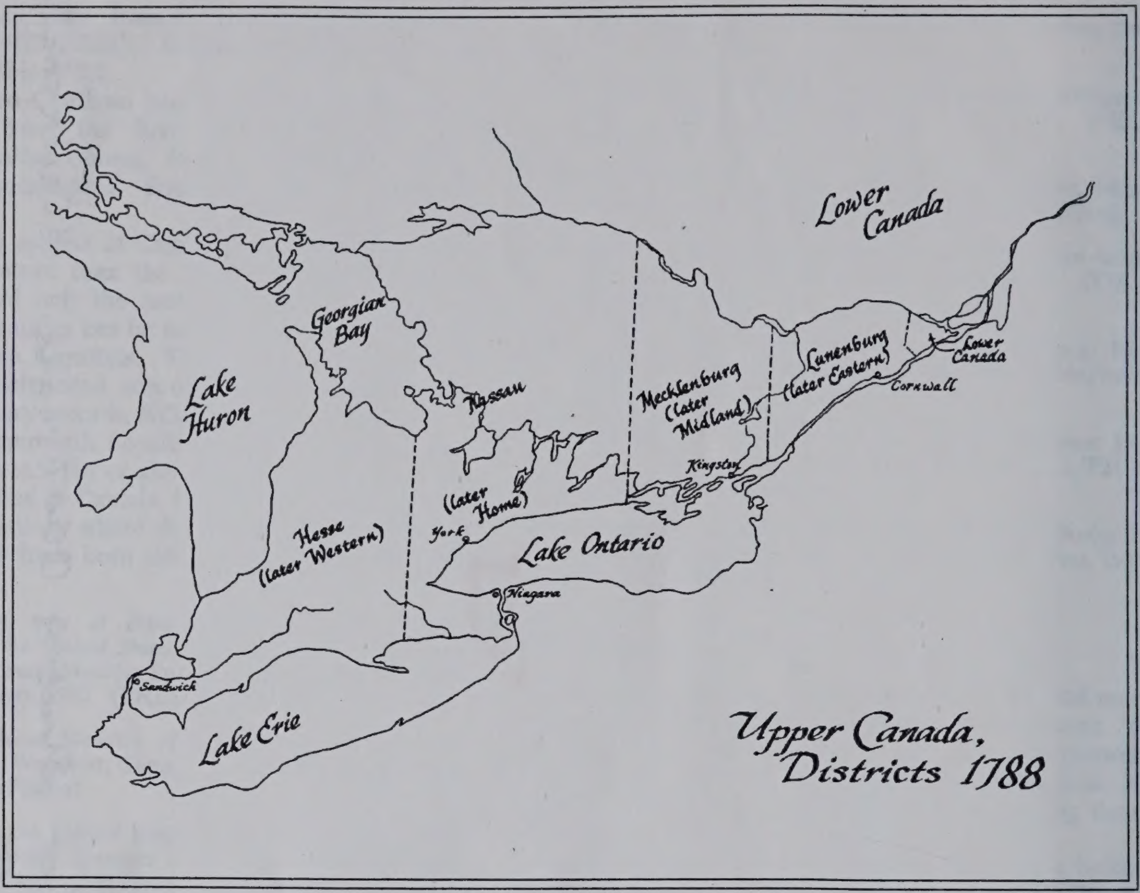

Lower Canada
Georgian Bay
Newcastle
Midland
Johnstown
Eastern
Lower Canada
Lake Huron
Home
Lake Ontario
London
Niagara
Western
Lake Erie
Upper Canada, Districts 1802

Ontario Maps: William J. Fraser
Inside Cover Maps: Peter Béla D. Mérey, FHSC
Cover: Laurie Mackinnon & Christine L. D. Merriman

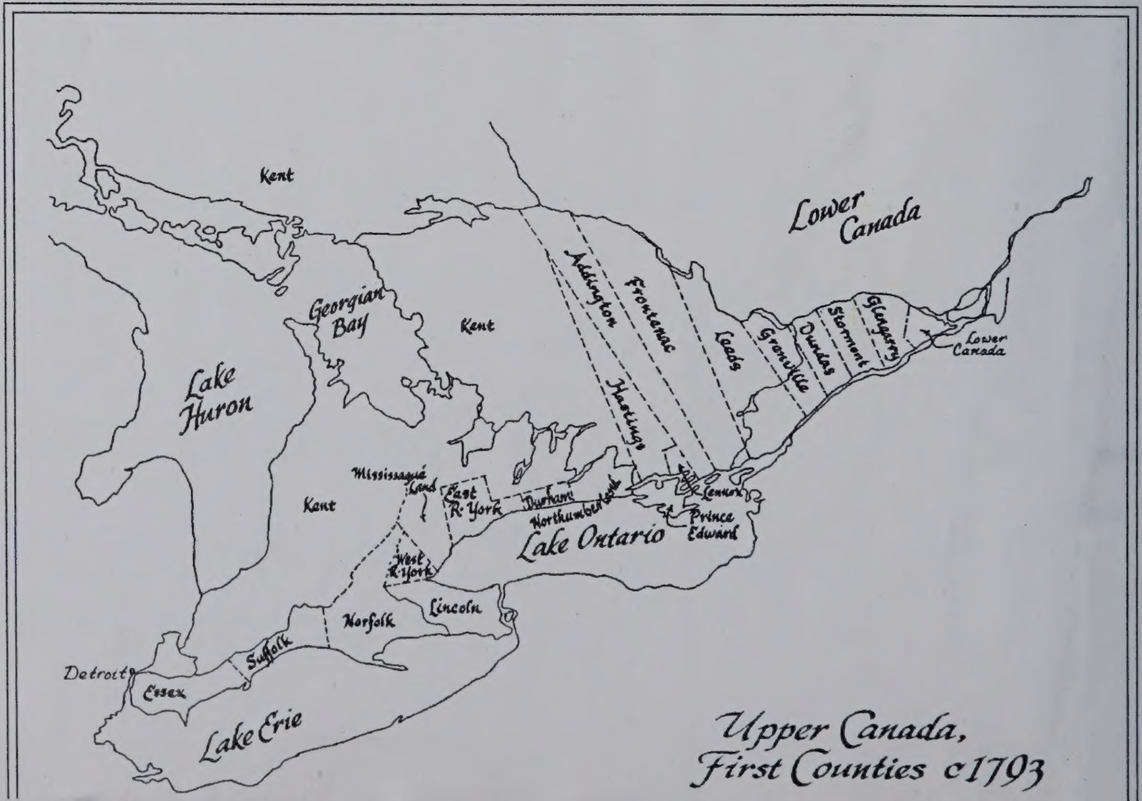
✓ Get Ernest A Cruikshank (Cruikshank)

"The Story of Butler's Rangers and the settlement of Niagara"

The Ontario Genealogical Society
Toronto, 1996


Lower Canada
Georgian Bay
Lake Huron
Nassau
Mecklenburg (later Midland)
Lunenburg (later Eastern)
Lower Canada
Cornwall
Kingston
(later Home)
York
Lake Ontario
Hesse (later Western)
Niagara
Sandwich
Lake Erie

Upper Canada, Districts 1788


Kent
Lower Canada
Addington
Frontenac
Georgian Bay
Kent
Leeds
Grenville
Dundas
Stormont
Glengarry
Lower Canada
Lake Huron
Hastings
Mississaugué Land
East R. York
Durham
Northumberland
Lennox
Prince Edward
Kant
Lake Ontario
West R. York
Lincoln
Norfolk
Suffolk
Detroit
Essex
Lake Erie

Upper Canada, First Counties c1793

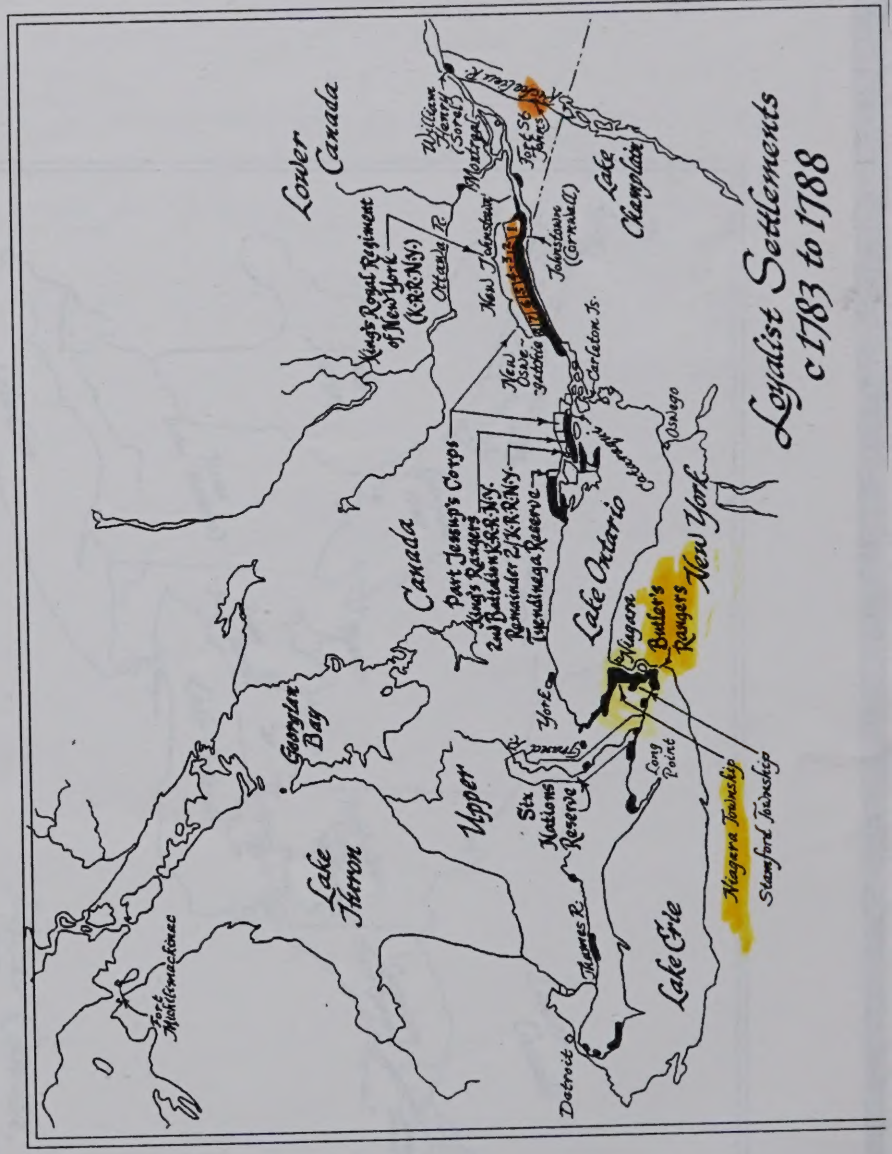
Introduction

GENERAL REFERENCE DATES

1763	Treaty of Paris; New France (including present-day Ontario) becomes a colony of Britain
1775-1783	American Revolutionary War
1783	Treaty of Separation; influx of Loyalist refugees and British soldiers into Nova Scotia and Quebec
✓ **1783-1784**	Spread of Loyalists and soldiers into western Quebec (now Ontario) under the supervision of Governor Frederick Haldimand
1786	Guy Carleton (later to become Lord Dorchester) becomes the Governor of British North America
1788	Western Quebec divided into four administrative districts (see maps)
1789	Lord Dorchester creates UE (Unity of Empire) designation and privileges for Loyalist settlers
1791	Canada (Constitutional) Act; Quebec is divided into Upper and Lower Canada
1792	John Graves Simcoe becomes the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada; the first meetings of the Executive Council and Legislative Assembly are held at the capital, Newark (now Niagara-on-the-Lake)
1794	Jay's Treaty: one condition is the ceding of British Forts Detroit and Michilimackinac to the United States
1796	York (now Toronto) becomes the permanent capital of Upper Canada
1812-1814	War between Britain and the United States
1829	Welland Canal is opened from Port Dalhousie to Port Robinson
1832	Rideau Canal opened from Bytown to Kingston; Burlington Bay canal is finished
1837-1838	Rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada; American invasions
1841	Act of Union: Upper and Lower Canada become Canada West and East with an elected Assembly
1849	The district system is abolished in favour of county administration
1850	The Municipal Act comes into effect: municipalities (towns and townships) become officially responsible for local business
1851	Great Western Railway construction begins from Toronto to Buffalo, NY
1858	The Canadas institute a decimal currency system
1866	Fenian raids into Canada from the United States

	material from the FHL. Certain copies of NA and AO microfilmed material can be borrowed through these Centres. The FHL has its own cataloguing system and thus its microfilm reel numbers are distinctly different from those of NA and AO. Please consult your own local telephone directories for a Family History Centre near you under Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormon).
GSU	**G**enealogical **S**ociety of **U**tah This is the arm of the LDS Church which carries out the microfilming program. At AO, many of the records originally filmed by GSU crews have been designated with GS call numbers.
NARA	**N**ational **A**rchives and **R**ecords **A**dministration, Washington, DC This is the American equivalent of our National Archives. Unlike our centralized system, they have a number of regional Branches in the U.S., for example, in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and Seattle.
MHSO	**M**ulticultural **H**istory **S**ociety of **O**ntario, Toronto
DIA	**D**epartment of **I**ndian **A**ffairs, Ottawa Formerly **DIAND** (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development), with various earlier titles and ministerial references.
DHist	**D**irectorate of **Hist**ory, Department of National Defence, Ottawa This is the centre for the official history of the Canadian Armed Forces. It has a quantity of military material of interest to genealogists, but due to cutbacks in government spending, may not be able to provide prompt service or attention to requests.
UEL	**U**nited **E**mpire **L**oyalists' Association of Canada
BMD	**B**irths, **M**arriage, **D**eaths
JP	**J**ustice of the **P**eace
SAE	**S**elf-**A**ddressed **E**nvelope A cardinal rule in corresponding with other genealogists and volunteer organizations is to enclose a self-addressed envelope and adequate return postage. When contacting a foreign country, International Postal Reply Coupons can be purchased at your own post office. Some genealogical societies have a service to provide stamps of their country.
ILL	**I**nter-**L**ibrary **L**oan
mfm	**m**icro**f**il**m**

Joseph
White
[illegible] Taps)
[illegible] Fort
St John's
1784/5



Loyalist Settlements c 1783 to 1788
Lower Canada
William Henry (Sorel)
Richelieu R.
Fort St Johns
Montreal
Lake Champlain
Kings Royal Regiment of New York (K.R.R.N.Y.)
Ottawa R.
New Johnstown
Johnstown (Cornwall)
New Oswegatchie
Carleton Is.
Oswego
Cataraqui
Part Jessup's Corps
Kings Rangers
2nd Battalion K.R.R.N.Y.
Remainder 2/K.R.R.N.Y.
Tyendinaga Reserve
Canada
Lake Ontario
New York
Niagara
Butler's Rangers
York
Grand R.
Long Point
Niagara Township
Stamford Township
Upper
Six Nations Reserve
Georgian Bay
Lake Huron
Thames R.
Lake Erie
Detroit
Fort Michilimackinac

Ds

It will occur to some whose ancestors spent any time in the Montreal district that "missing" vital statistics for the family could possibly be found there. A few tips:

- The Quebec Family History Society (P.O. Box 1026, Pointe Claire, Quebec H9S 4H9) has published *Marriages 1766-1850, Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal*, as well as the Anglican cemetery transcription for Sorel;
- Anglican registers for Sorel, 1784-1842 (as well as many other Eastern Townships church records) have been extracted and indexed in a database by Marlene Simmons, 1039 Burnett Road, R.R. 4, Mansonville, Quebec J0E 1X0; names searched for a modest fee;
- The register for St Andrews Presbyterian Church, Williamstown (Glengarry County), began in Montreal in 1779 with Rev John Bethune, chaplain for the Royal Highland Emigrants (mfm C-3030 at NA and AO);
- Check NA's *Checklist of Parish Registers (1986)* for the province of Quebec, for availability of Catholic and Protestant church registers through interlibrary loan (ILL);
- St Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church registers, Montreal, are available at AO on MS 351, date from 1796 and might contain some tardy family members.

ND GRANTS

Land records probably provide the greatest wealth of information on Loyalists, because of the inextricable links between the two. In **1783**, Loyalist heads of families and privates from a Loyalist corps were designated for 100 acres each:

50 acres for each member of a Loyalist family and single men;
200 acres for non-commissioned officers;
500 acres for lieutenants and warrant officers;
700 acres for captains;
1000 acres for field officers (majors and colonels).

The first townships were allotted more or less to specific Loyalist corps, partly as a defensive measure, placing veterans in groups along the front townships. The Royal Highland Emigrants were given more favourable sizes of grants, but the Loyalists successfully lobbied to have their own increased to the same scale. By **1788**, this meant:

2000 acres for Loyalist corps lieutenants and warrant officers;
3000 acres for captains;
5000 acres for field officers.

In **1787**, the grant to Loyalist refugees and ordinary settlers increased to 200 acres each, and the provision for 200 acres for the daughters and sons of Loyalists came into effect when they reached the age of majority, or when a daughter married.

Thus, both soldiers of the regular British regiments who decided to stay in Canada, and the Loyalists who enrolled in a provincial corps, were entitled to a free land grant as "Military Claimants" (MC). Herein lies the seed of some perplexity for descendants. Because the regulations governing all land granting fluctuated for many years, it is the date and the size of a grant which can tell you something about your ancestor's status as an army veteran or preferred settler. Occasionally an American-born man joined a regiment of the regular British army, which caused confusion in his status after the War. If a man received a grant as an MC but his children received Loyalist sons and daughters grants, then he was considered a Loyalist in this context.

PETITIONS

It has already been stated that relatively few petitions for a land grant exist for Loyalist heads of families, and that some Loyalists' names did not make it onto the district rolls. Many of them considered their original certificates to be adequate proof of land ownership, or were unaware of the need to exchange them while reaffirming their status. Many deserving Loyalists died in battle action, along the refugee routes, or after a few years of pioneer privation. However, there are some petitions in the **Upper Canada Land Petitions** series (NA, RG 1, L 3). Researchers should also keep in mind that early **Lower Canada Land Petitions** (NA, RG 1, L 3 L) are also a possible source for Loyalist petitions. The widows or sons of deceased Loyalists often made petitions to confirm ownership of property or to add the man's name to the Loyalist list. In any of these cases, the Loyalist or his next of kin would have to provide evidence of his right to Loyalist privilege, such as proof of service in a Loyalist corps, where he lived before the advent of the Revolution, and so on.

By far the majority of Loyalist land petitions come from the grown children. Thus, the date of the petition can sometimes be a clue to their ages. They may mention that they have just turned 21, or where and when they were born.

A number of published histories and articles can also be found on each individual unit. The works of Ernest A. Cruikshank are of particular interest and high scholarship, *e.g.*, *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara*. As well, the personal papers of many officers of these corps have been deposited at public institutions, and can be located through the *Union List of Manuscripts* or the catalogues of repositories you visit. Many men also served out of Fort Niagara with the **Indian Department**, which played a key quasi-military role in northern operations. Others worked for the **Provincial Marine** based at Carleton Island near Kingston. Some served the British cause in an effective spy network or on garrison duties, while some served unofficially as couriers, provisioners, or as guides for escaping Loyalist families. This also does not take into account members of some provincial corps in the British **Central Command**, based at New York, who eventually made their way to Upper Canada after initial evacuation to Nova Scotia, and some who fought farther afield in the **Southern Command**. Certainly there were Loyalists in the province before 1800 from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas. Murtie Jean Clark's *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War* is a classic for that region of the British Command.

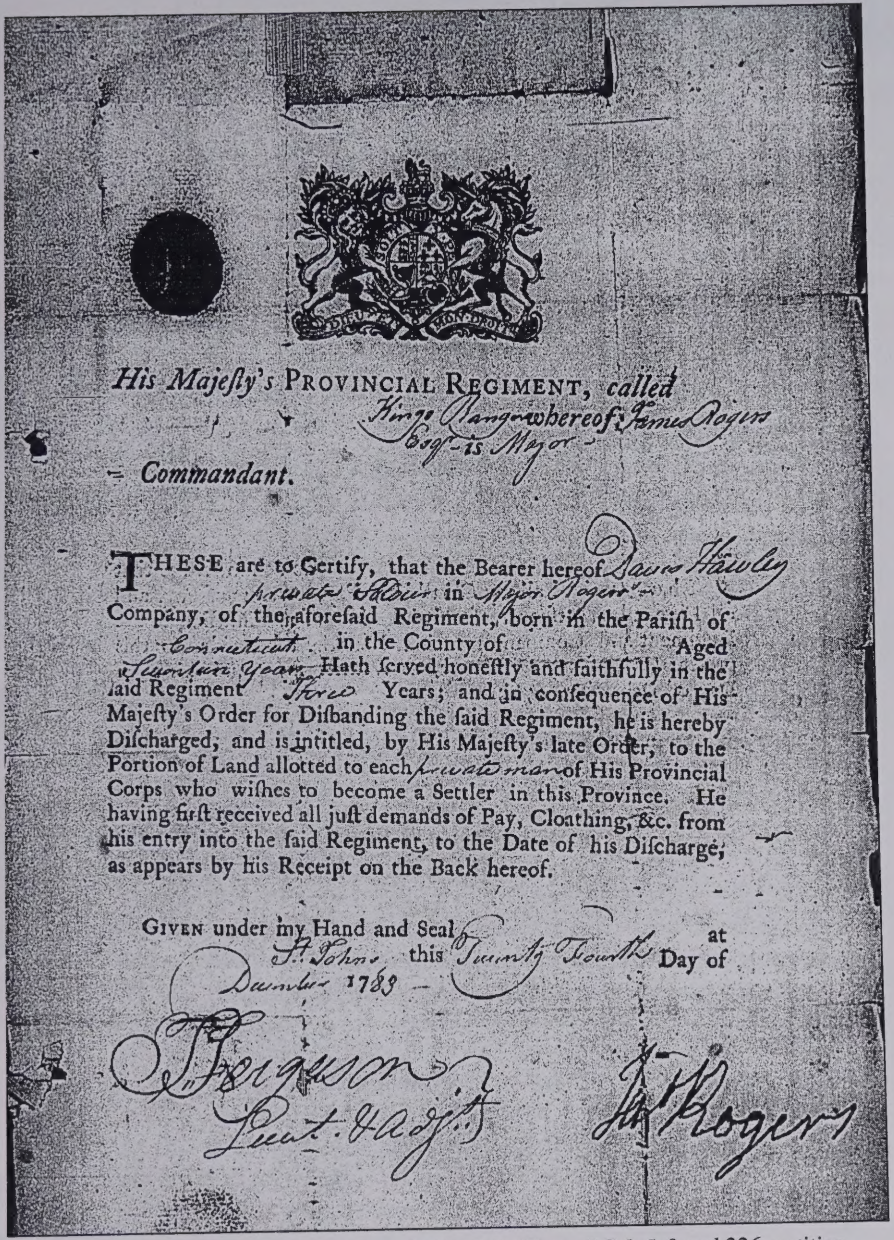
It is worth mentioning that numbers of **French Canadians** were active on the Loyalist side during the course of the War. The most relevant to Ontario ancestry will be those who were agents, scouts or employees with the Indian Department from Fort Niagara to Michilimackinac, and those who served in the Detroit Volunteers. French farmers and traders had occupied both sides of the Detroit River and its vicinity for years before the British victory of 1763. They felt their future would be safer under British rather than American rule. To this day, French communities still ring the eastern and southern shores of the Detroit and St Clair Rivers, Lake Huron and Georgian Bay. "Canadian Participants in the American Revolution, An Index" by Virginia DeMarce was published serially in *Lost in Canada?* from Vol 6 No 2 (May 1980) to Vol 10, No 4 (November 1984). John P. Dulong's "French-Canadian and Acadian Loyalists" in the OGS *Seminar Annual, 1986* is one of the few articles to address this subject. Donna Stuart's *The Genealogy of the French Families of the Detroit River Region, 1701-1936* is also a possible secondary resource.

REFUGEE, PROVISIONS LISTS

The two means of assisting the thousands of refugees who flooded into British territory were to provide immediate relief of food, shelter, and clothing while the War continued, and to allot land for resettlement when the War was over. The families of Loyalists who were fighting arrived at "safe" military points like Fort William Henry/Sorel, Montreal, Carleton Island and Niagara throughout the War period. These desperate people had been ordered or threatened into exile, leaving behind their homes, their stock and crops, their belongings, and sometimes part of their families. Babies were born, couples were married, and people died in this interim while the War continued, and later, while Governor Haldimand made plans to relocate them. Tents, blankets, cooking utensils and other necessities were supplied for the journey on the Saint Lawrence to "the upper part of the province". Provisioning or refugee lists survive from this resettlement time, again in the Haldimand Papers (indexes as above for Loyalist material on NA mfm C-1475 or M-2782), or British Headquarter Papers, formerly known as the Carleton Papers (NA, MG 23, B 1; 4 volume calendar on M-341 and M-342, each volume indexed separately, but not including all names in the documents).

Such titles as *Loyalist Lists* by E. Keith Fitzgerald (published by OGS) and *Early Ontario Settlers: A Source Book* by Norman K. Crowder are compendiums of several of these lists; usually only the head of the family is named. By careful reading of the introductions and attention to detail, it is often possible to determine the number of people in one refugee family, and their ages and sex, by the quantity of the rations they were issued. Other lists have been published in *Families* and local historical society periodicals, *e.g.*:

- "Loyalist Stragglers in Montreal, September-October, 1784" by E. Keith Fitzgerald in *Families*, Vol 24, No 1 (1985)
- "Loyalist Victualling Lists of the Niagara Area, 1786" by Robert Halfyard in *Families*, Vol 24, Nos 2 and 4 (1985)
- "Returns of the Asylum at (Fort) William Henry for Loyalist Invalids" by George Neville in *Families*, Vol 16, No 3 (1977)
- "Loyalists of William Henry (Sorel)" by Walter S. White in *The Loyalist Gazette*, Autumn 1974 and Spring 1975



His Majeſty's PROVINCIAL REGIMENT, *called* Kings Rangers whereof James Rogers Esqr is Major Commandant.

THESE are to Certify, that the Bearer hereof Davis Hawley private Soldier in Major Rogers Company, of the aforeſaid Regiment, born in the Pariſh of Connecticut in the County of Aged Seventeen Years Hath ſerved honeſtly and faithfully in the ſaid Regiment Three Years; and in conſequence of His Majeſty's Order for Diſbanding the ſaid Regiment, he is hereby Diſcharged, and is intitled, by His Majeſty's late Order, to the Portion of Land allotted to each private man of His Provincial Corps who wiſhes to become a Settler in this Province. He having firſt received all juſt demands of Pay, Cloathing, &c. from his entry into the ſaid Regiment, to the Date of his Diſcharge; as appears by his Receipt on the Back hereof.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at St. Johns this Twenty Fourth Day of December 1783 –

J. Ferguson
Lieut. & Adjt.

Jas. Rogers

National Archives of Canada, Upper Canada Land Petitions, RG 1, L 3, vol 226, petition 49/33, microfilm, C-2046, Davis Hawley, 1808

residence in the colonies is not given, you can get closer to the truth with some research on where his corps was raised. It could happen that your ancestor is not included on the list you find. If you think he was part of a certain corps, you will have to track down a list of a different date. Elinor K. Senior wrote "Loyalist Regiments After the American Revolution" in *Canadian Genealogist*, Vol 2, No 1 (1981) with accompanying maps showing refugee paths and settlement areas of the Loyalist Corps.

Fryer's *King's Men, the Soldier Founders of Ontario* is highly recommended reading on the following Loyalist Corps associated with the **Northern Command**. It provides not only richly-detailed endnotes, but also the historical drama of the War and its key people.

Royal Highland Emigrants [1]
King's Royal Regiment of New York (KRRNY)
Butler's Rangers
The Loyal Rangers
The King's Rangers

Older, smaller corps, before a reorganization in 1781, sent most of the men into the Loyal Rangers or the Second Battalion of the KRRNY:

King's Loyal Americans
Queen's Loyal Rangers
Loyal Volunteers
Units led by Daniel McAlpin, Samuel McKay, Samuel Adams and Robert Leake

Unincorporated or associated corps not attached to a regular army regiment (several working with the Indian Department):

Joseph Brant's Volunteers
Loyal Foresters
Detroit Volunteers
Claus's Rangers
Major Van Alstyne's Company
Captain Grass' Company

(these last two came from New York in the **Central Command** as refugees)

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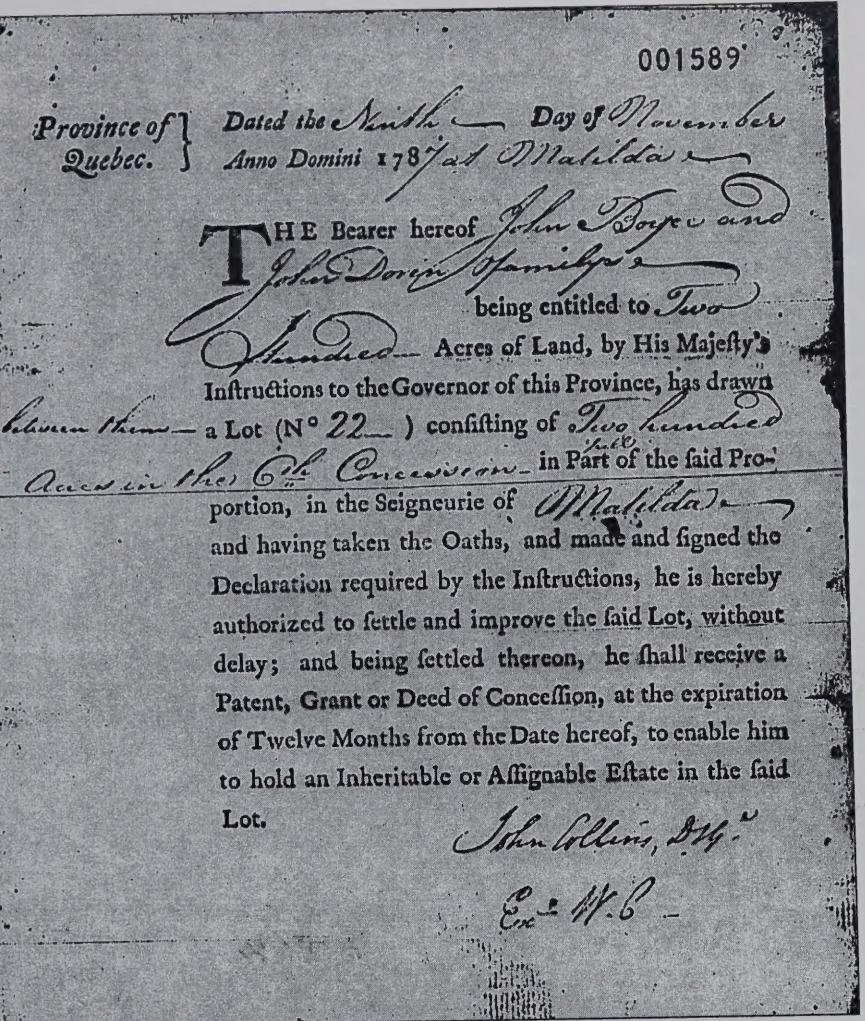
[1] Raised in North America as a provincial support corps, the Royal Highland Emigrants achieved regular British Army status during the Revolution as the 84th Regiment.



001589

Province of Quebec. } Dated the Ninth — Day of November Anno Domini 1787 at Matilda —

THE Bearer hereof John Boyce and John Dorin & family — being entitled to Two Hundred — Acres of Land, by His Majeſty's Inſtructions to the Governor of this Province, has drawn between them — a Lot (N° 22) conſiſting of Two hundred Acres in the 6th Concession — in Part of the ſaid Proportion, in the Seigneurie of Matilda — and having taken the Oaths, and made and ſigned the Declaration required by the Inſtructions, he is hereby authorized to ſettle and improve the ſaid Lot, without delay; and being ſettled thereon, he ſhall receive a Patent, Grant or Deed of Conceſſion, at the expiration of Twelve Months from the Date hereof, to enable him to hold an Inheritable or Aſſignable Eſtate in the ſaid Lot.

John Collins, D.S.G.

Exd W.C. —

rchives of Ontario, Township Papers, RG 1, C-IV, Matilda Township, p 1589, microfilm, IS 658, reel 292, John Boyce and John Dorin, 1787

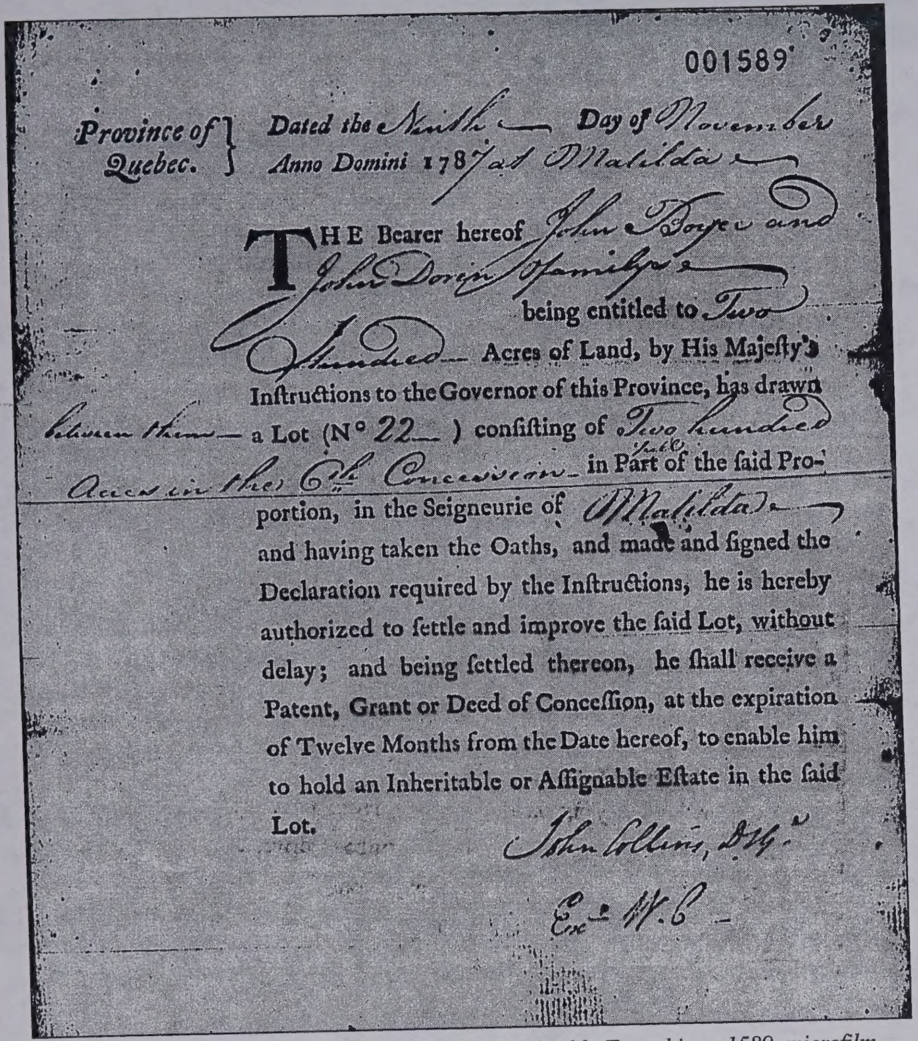
his loyalty was considered suspect and his name was suspended from the list.

A secondary, but important, list of Loyalists is William D. Reid's *The Loyalists in Ontario, Sons and Daughters of the American Loyalists of Upper Canada*. Reid reconstructed Loyalist families based on Orders-in-Council (OC) issued to the children who claimed a Loyalist father. It is also inferred, from the extra information provided on some families, that Reid used some other sources such as fiat and warrant books, Township Papers, Heir and Devisee Commission files, and some published early church or ministers' registers. An index to all stray names is included with the 1973 reprint. The OCs unquestionably provide the names of fathers who were considered Loyalists. The drawbacks with the compiled families are that some children may be missing; the ones who did not petition for their privileged land grant. Some Loyalists do not appear at all, and others are confused with sons of the same name. Nevertheless, this book is a valuable guide to primary sources.

MILITARY LISTS

Muster rolls of the Loyalist corps were taken at various times from their formation until their disbandment after the Treaty of Separation. Some of the original lists are found within the British Military "C Series" (see Chapter 10), the Haldimand Papers (NA, MG 21, G 2; finding aid 599; contemporary manuscript index on mfm M-2782, or typescript index on mfm C-1475). Many of the lists have been published in historical and genealogical periodicals by military historians and students. For most Ontario ancestors, the greatest interest will be in the Loyalist corps which were disbanded around Sorel (also known as Fort William Henry), Montreal, Niagara and Detroit.

Rolls of the Provincial (Loyalist) Corps, Canadian Command, American Revolutionary Period by Mary Beacock Fryer and Lt-Col William A. Smy shows the major corps of the Northern Department, or Canadian Command, of the British operations. Out of British War Office records, the rolls were chosen to show the corps at their most complete size. The range is from 1781 to 1784. Rolls or returns for some corps have never been located; as an example, the roll for Butler's Rangers was painstakingly assembled from other contemporary sources. Information for each man may simply be his name, while some have age, place of birth (**N.B.** means North Britain, *i.e.*, Scotland), height, length of service or perhaps residence when he enlisted. If previous



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John Collins, D.S.G.

Exd W.C

Archives of Ontario, Township Papers, RG 1, C-IV, Matilda Township, p 1589, microfilm, MS 658, reel 292, John Boyce and John Dorin, 1787

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